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PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1788.

MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION.

Summary of the Arguments in Convention, on the Debates respecting Biennial Elections.

Monday, January 14.

IT had been mentioned by ſome gentlemen, that the introduction of tyranny into ſeveral nations had been by lengthening the duration of their parliaments, or legiſlative bodies; and the fate of thoſe nations was urged as a caution againſt lengthening the period for which Congreſs is to be choſen.—The hon. Mr. Sedgwick wiſhed to know what were the nations which had been thus deprived of their liberties; he believed they were few in number—in fact he did not recollect any. After ſhewing by ſeveral examples how nations had been deprived of their liberties, he continued—Is it not neceſſary, Mr. Preſident, that the fœderal repreſentatives ſhould be choſen for two years? Annual elections in a ſingle ſtate may be the beſt, for a variety of reaſons: but the great affairs of thirteen ſtates, where their commerce may be extended, and where it is neceſſary to be reſtricted, what meaſure may be moſt expedient, and beſt adapted to promote the general proſperity thereof, are to be the objects of deliberation; is not ſuch a period too ſhort? Can a man called into public life, diveſt himſelf of local concerns, and inſtantly initiate himſelf into a general knowledge of ſuch extenſive and weighty matters? After ſeveral other arguments in favor of the ſection, he begged the indulgence of the convention while he made a perſonal obſervation: "It has been given out, Sir, by ſeveral perſons, that I ſaid the conſtitution muſt go down, right or wrong——I beg leave to declare, Sir, on my honor, that ſo far from having made ſuch declaration, the idea of it has not ever entered my mind."

Mr. G. Dench wiſhed to know how the repreſentation was ſecured, as by the 4th ſection, Congreſs were empowered to make or alter the regulation of the times, places, and manner of holding elections: Mr. D. was continuing, but was called to order by Mr. Parſons, who ſaid, that the ſubject in debate was the expediency of biennial elections, and that an anſwer to the gentleman from Hopkinton, would more properly be given when the 4th ſection was under conſideration.

Dr. Taylor. Mr. Preſident, I am oppoſed to biennial, and am in favor of annual elections; annual elections have been the practice of this ſtate ever ſince its ſettlement, and no objection to ſuch a mode of electing has ever been made; it has, indeed, Sir, been conſidered as the ſafeguard of the liberties of the people; and the annihilation of it the avenue through which tyranny will enter. By the articles of confederation, annual elections are provided for; though we have additional ſecurities in a right to recall any or all of our members from Congreſs; and a proviſion for rotation. In the propoſed conſtitution there is no proviſion for rotation, we have no right by it to recall our delegates. In anſwer to the obſervation, that by frequency of elections, good men will be excluded, I anſwer, if they behave well, it is probable they will be continued, but if they behave ill, how ſhall we remedy the evil. It is poſſible, that rulers may be appointed who may wiſh to root out the liberties of the people. Is it not, Mr. Preſident, better, if ſuch a caſe ſhould occur, that at a ſhort period they ſhould politically die, than that they ſhould be proceeded againſt by impeachment. Theſe conſiderations, and others, ſaid the Doctor, make me in favor of annual elections; and the further we deviate therefrom, the greater is the evil.

The hon. Mr. Sprague was in favor of the ſection as it ſtood; He thought the ſame principles ought not to guide us, when conſidering the election of a body whoſe juriſdiction was co-extenſive with a great continent, as when regulating that of one whoſe concerns are only thoſe of a ſingle ſtate.

Mr. T. Dawes, after a ſhort exordium, ſaid he had not heard it mentioned by any gentleman who had ſpoken in the debate, that the right of electing repreſentatives in Congreſs, as provided for in the propoſed conſtitution, will be the acquiſition of a new privilege by the people, as it really will be. The people will then be immediately repreſented in the fœderal government; at preſent they are not; therefore it will be in favor of the people, if they are even choſen for forty inſtead of two years; and he adduced many reaſons to ſhew that it would not conduce to the intereſt of the United States, or the ſecurity of the people, to have them for a ſhorter period than two years.

The hon. Mr. White ſaid he was oppoſed to the ſection, he thought the ſecurity of the people lay in frequent elections; for his part he would rather they ſhould be for ſix months than for two years, and concluded by ſaying he was in favor of annual elections.

Dr. Jarvis, Gen. Brooks, Gen. Heath, and the hon. Mr. Turner, each ſpoke a few words on the ſubject when a motion was made to poſtpone the conſideration of the 2d ſection until to-morrow morning, which paſſing, the convention adjourned.

Tueſday, January 15.

Mr. Ames. I do not regret, Mr. Preſident, we are not unanimous upon this queſtion. I do not conſider the diverſity of ſentiment which prevails, as an impediment in our way to the diſcovery of truth. In order that we may think alike upon this ſubject at laſt, we ſhall be compelled to diſcuſs it, by aſcending to the principles upon which the doctrine of repreſentation is grounded.

Without premeditation, in a ſituation ſo novel, and awed by the reſpect which I feel for this venerable aſſembly, I diſtruſt extremely my own feelings, as well as my competency to proſecute this enquiry. With the hope of an indulgent hearing, I will attempt to proceed. I am ſenſible, Sir, that the doctrine of frequent elections, has been ſanctified by antiquity; and is ſtill more endeared to us by our recent experience, and uniform habits of thinking. Gentlemen have expreſſed their zealous partiality for it. They conſider this as a leading queſtion in the debate, and that the merits of many other parts of the conſtitution are involved in the deciſion. I confeſs, Sir, and I declare that my zeal for frequent elections, is not inferior to their own. I conſider it as one of the firſt ſecurities for popular liberty, in which its very eſſence may be ſuppoſed to reſide. But how ſhall we make the beſt uſe of this pledge and inſtrument of our ſafety? A right principle, carried to an extreme, becomes uſeleſs. It is apparent, that a delegation for a ſhort term, as for a ſingle day, would defeat the deſign of repreſentation. The election in that caſe would not ſeem to the people to be of any importance, and the perſon elected would think as lightly of his appointment. The other extreme is equally to be avoided. An election for a very long term of years, or for life, would remove the member too far from the controul of the people, would be dangerous to liberty, and in fact repugnant to the purpoſes of the delegation. The truth, as uſual, is placed ſomewhere between the extremes, and I believe is included in this propoſition. The term of election muſt be ſo long, that the repreſentative may underſtand the intereſts of the people, and yet ſo limited, that his fidelity may be ſecured by a dependence upon their approbation.

Before I proceed to the application of this rule, I cannot forbear to premiſe ſome remarks upon two opinions which have been ſuggeſted.

Much has been ſaid about the people diveſting themſelves of power, when they delegate it to repreſentatives, and that all repreſentation is to their diſadvantage, becauſe it is but an image, a copy, fainter, and more imperfect than the original, the people, in whom the light of power is primary and unborrowed, which is only reflected by their delegates. I cannot agree to either of theſe opinions. The repreſentation of the people is ſomething more than the people. I know, Sir, but one purpoſe which the people can effect without delegation, and that is, to deſtroy a government. That they cannot erect a government is evinced by our being thus aſſembled, on their behalf. The people muſt govern by a majority, with whom all power reſides. But how is the ſenſe of this majority to be obtained? It has been ſaid that a pure democracy is the beſt government for a ſmall people who may aſſemble in perſon. It is of a ſmall conſequence to diſcuſs it, as it would be inapplicable to the great country we inhabit. It may be of ſome uſe in this argument however, to conſider, that it would be very burthenſome, ſubject to faction and violence, deciſions would often be made by ſurprize, in the precipitancy of paſſion, by men who either underſtand nothing, or care nothing about the ſubject; or by intereſted men, or thoſe who vote for their own indemnity. It would be a government not by laws, but by men. Such were the paltry democracies of Greece and Aſia Minor, ſo much extolled, and ſo often propoſed as a model for our imitation. I deſire to be thankful that our people are not under any temptation to adopt the advice. I think it will not be denied, that the people are gainers by the election of repreſentatives. They may deſtroy, but they cannot exerciſe the powers of government in perſon; but by their ſervants, they govern; they do not renounce their power, they do not ſacrifice their rights; they become the true ſovereigns of the country, when they delegate that power, which they cannot uſe themſelves, to their truſtees.

I know, Sir, that the people talk about the liberty of nature, and aſſert, that we diveſt ourſelves of a portion of it, when we enter into ſociety. This is declamation againſt matter of fact. We cannot live without ſociety; and as to liberty, how can I be ſaid to enjoy that which another may take from me when he pleaſes. The liberty of one depends not ſo much on the removal of all reſtraint from him, as on the due reſtraint upon the liberty of others. Without ſuch reſtraint, there can be no liberty; liberty is ſo far from being endangered or deſtroyed by this, that it is extended and ſecured. For I ſaid, that we do not enjoy that, which another may take from us. But civil liberty cannot be taken from us, when any one may pleaſe to invade it; for we have the ſtrength of the ſociety on our ſide.

I hope, Sir, that theſe reflections will have ſome tendency to remove the ill impreſſions which are made by propoſing to diveſt the people of their power.

That they may never be diveſted of it, I repeat I am in favour of frequent elections. They who commend annual elections, are deſired to conſider, that the queſtion is, whether biennial elections are a defect in the conſtitution: For it does not follow, becauſe annual elections are ſafe, that biennial elections are dangerous, for both may be good. Nor is there any foundation for the fears of thoſe, who ſay that if we who have been accuſtomed to chuſe for one year only, now extend it to two, the next ſtride will be to five, or ſeven years, and the next for a term of life: for this article, with all its ſuppoſed defects, is in favor of liberty. Being inſerted in the conſtitution, it is not ſubject to be repealed by law. We are ſure that it is the worſt of the caſe.

It is a fence againſt ambitious encroachments, too high and too ſtrong to be paſſed: In this reſpect, we have greatly the advantage of the people of England, and of all the world. The law which limits their parliaments, is liable to be repealed.

I will not defend this article, by ſaying that it was a matter of compromiſe in the fœderal convention; it has my entire approbation as it ſtands. I think that we ought to prefer, in this article, biennial elections to annual, and my reaſons for this opinion are drawn from theſe ſources.

From the extent of the country to be governed.

The objects of their legiſlation.

And the more perfect ſecurity of our liberty.

It ſeems obvious, that men who are to collect in Congreſs from this great territory, perhaps from the bay of Fundy, or from the banks of the Ohio, and the ſhore of Lake Superior, ought to have a longer term in office, than the delegates of a ſingle ſtate, in their own legiſlature. It is not by riding poſt to and from Congreſs, that a man can acquire a juſt knowledge of the true intereſts of the union. This term of election, is inapplicable to the ſtate of a country as large as Germany, or as the Roman empire in the zenith of its power.

If we conſider the objects of their delegation, little doubt will remain. It is admitted that annual elections may be highly fit for the ſtate legiſlature. Every citizen grows up with a knowledge of the local circumſtances of the ſtate. But the buſineſs of the fœderal government will be very different. The objects of their power are few and national. At leaſt two years in office will be neceſſary to enable a man to judge of the trade and intereſts of ſtates which he never ſaw. The time, I hope, will come, when this excellent country will furniſh food (and freedom, which is better than food, which is the food of the ſoul) for fifty millions of happy people. Will any man ſay that the national buſineſs can be underſtood in one year.

Biennial elections appear to me, ſir, an eſſential ſecurity to liberty. Theſe are my reaſons.

Faction and enthuſiaſm are the inſtruments by which popular governments are deſtroyed. We need not talk of the power of an ariſtocracy. The people when they loſe their liberties are cheated out of them. They nouriſh factions in their boſoms, which will ſubſiſt ſo long as abuſing their honeſt credulity ſhall be the means of acquiring power. A democracy is a volcano, which conceals the fiery materials of its own deſtruction. Theſe will produce an eruption, and carry deſolation in their way. The people always mean right and if time is allowed for reflection and information, they will do right. I would not have the firſt wiſh, the momentary impulſe of the public mind, become law, for it is not always the ſenſe of the people, with whom, I admit, that all power reſides. On great queſtions, we firſt hear the loud clamors of paſſion, artifice and faction. I conſider biennial elections as a ſecurity that the ſober ſecond thought of the people ſhall be law. There is a calm review of public tranſactions, which is made by the citizens who have families and children, the pledge of their fidelity. To provide for popular liberty, we muſt take care that meaſures ſhould not be adopted without due deliberation.

The members choſen for two years will feel ſome independence in his ſeat. The factions of the day will expire before the end of his term.

The people will be proportionally attentive to the merits of a candidate. Two years will afford opportunity to the member to deſerve well of them, and they will require evidence that he has done it.

But, ſir, the repreſentatives are the grand inquiſition of the union. They are by impeachment to bring great offenders to juſtice. One year will not ſuffice to detect guilt, and to purſue it to conviction. Therefore they will eſcape, and the balance of the two branches, will be deſtroyed; and the people oppreſſed with impunity. The ſenators will repreſent the ſovereignty of the ſtates. The repreſentatives are to repreſent the people. The officers ought to bear ſome proportion in point of importance. This will be impoſſible if they are choſen for one year only.

Will the people, then, blind the eyes of their own watchmen? Will they bind the hands which are to hold the ſword for their defence? Will they impair their own power, by an unreaſonable jealouſy of themſelves.

For theſe reaſons, I am clearly of opinin, that the article is entitled to our approbation as it ſtands; and as it has been demanded, why annual elections were not preferred to biennial, permit me to retort the queſtion, and to enquire in my turn, what reaſon can be given why if annual elections are good, biennial elections are not better?

Mr. Dench ſaid, his objection to biennial elections were removed: but he wiſhed to recur to the 4th ſection, and to enquire, whether that election was ſecured, as by this ſection, Congreſs has power to regulate the time, place, and manner of holding it.

[A queſtion now aroſe, whether the conſideration of the 4th ſection was in order, and much debate was had hereon; but the propriety, as expreſſed by a worthy member, of "elucidating ſcripture by ſcripture" being generally admitted, the motion made by the Hon. Mr. Dana paſſed, which put an end to the converſation.]

The Hon. Mr. Bowdoin remarked on the idea ſuggeſted by the honorable gentleman from Scituate (Mr. Turner) who had ſaid that nature pointed out the propriety of annual elections by its annual renewal, and obſerved, that if the revolution of the heavenly bodies is to be the principle to regulate elections, it was not fixed to any period; as in ſome of the ſyſtems it would be very ſhort; and in the laſt diſcovered planet, it would be 80 of our years. Gentlemen, he ſaid, who had gone before him in the debate, had clearly pointed out the alteration of the election of our fœderal repreſentatives, from annual to biennial, to be juſtifiable. Annual elections may be neceſſary in this ſtate; but in the choice of repreſentatives for the continent, ought to be longer; nor did he ſee any danger in its being ſo. Who, he aſked, are the men to be elected? Are they not among us? If they were to be a diſtinct body, then the doctrine of precaution which gentlemen uſe would be neceſſary:---but, ſir, they can make no laws, nor levy any taxes, but thoſe to which they themſelves muſt be ſubſervient---they themſelves muſt bear a part; therefore, our ſecurity is guaranteed, by their being thus ſubjected to the laws, if nothing elſe.

General Heath ſaid, he conſidered himſelf not as an inhabitant of Maſſachuſetts, but as a citizen of the United States; and his ideas and views were commenſurate with the continent; they extended in length from the St. Croix to the St. Maria, and in breadth from the Atlantic to the Lake of the Woods. Having premiſed this, the worthy gentleman ſaid, he ſhould not have riſen, had he not heard gentlemen ſpeak ſo lightly of lengthening of elections. The opinion of all great writers on government was, that the liberties of the people have always been dependent on the duration of parliament; that that was the opinon of Monteſquieu, and ſeveral other legiſlators: and ſays he, the hiſtory of our country will ſhew us in what reſpect frequent elections have been held. It was the wiſdom of our anceſtors that formed the meaſure of annual elections, and it is ſanctified by age: Therefore, ſir, before we alter it, we ſhould carefully examine, that it be for the better. It is a novel idea, ſaid the general, that the repreſentatives ought to have time to learn their duty; he thought they always ought to have a general knowledge of the intereſt of their conſtituents. Having mentioned a circumſtance, that the Britiſh parliament have frequent occaſion, before they can determine ſome important points, to return home to their conſtituents, to obtain information: and as Congreſs are to have but one ſeſſion in a year, and may want ſuch an opportunity to gain information, he ſat down by obſerving, that he was in favor of biennial elections.

The Hon. Mr. Turner, in reply to the Hon. Mr. Bowdoin, ſaid, he thought it an important conſideration, whether the elections are to be for one or for two years; he was, he ſaid, greatly

in favor of annual elections, and he thought, in the present instance, it would be establishing a dangerous precedent to adopt a change: for, says he, the principle may so operate, as in time, our elections will be as seldom as the revolution of the star the hon. gentleman talks of.

Mr. Dawes, in answer to general Heath, said, that the passage quoted from Montesquieu applied to single governments, and not to confederated ones.

[To be continued.]

For the PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

Messrs. HALL & SELLERS,

The much greater part of the following observations were written several months ago, although it was then thought unnecessary to offer them to the public; but finding it is yet *the wish of* certain individuals *to* patch up *and keep alive an* anti-fœderal system, *injurious to the citizens of Pennsylvania and the union in general, you are requested to give them a place in your useful paper.* A. B.

ON THE FUNDING LAWS.

IT is a common saying, that if the taxes, duties and imposts of the state of Pennsylvania were duly collected, the interest of the public debt would be regularly paid, and the treasury adequate to all demands; and this would effectually counteract every thing that has or could be said against the funding system, so far as it might operate in causing the fall of stocks. The fact is, if the state had not adopted a part disproportioned to her resources, and to her quota of the fœderal debt, the interest on certificates might possibly be paid, the treasury equal to common demands, and the credit of the state in some measure supported. Pennsylvania certainly did herself honor in endeavouring to pay the interest on the debts due to her citizens, and erred only in attempting too much; by making the basis of the system so broad, as to include a large quantity of continental debt due to *people of other states*, for the discharge of which her funds and taxes have been injudiciously employed from the beginning.*----And in endeavouring to make the provision *permanent*, when it should have been but *temporary*, so that it might cease to operate, if found not to accord with the measures agreed upon by Congress for the support of *national* credit.

I differ from the absurd speculations of those, who are at a late hour, when there can be but a small proportion of certificates in the hands of original holders, for making a discrimination between them and purchasers. But if the state has adopted more than her proportion of the debt, it is proposed that the Assembly shall revise the funding and land-office laws, so as to make them conformable to the original and *declared design*; that of giving relief to our *own citizens* who were public creditors. And for that purpose the following clause in the 14th section of the act of the 16th of March, 1785:

"*Provided always*, That such certificates respectively were originally issued from the said loan-office, *or given or granted for articles furnished, or for services done and performed* during the late war *by the citizens of this state*, or by officers or soldiers admitted and adopted as *of the Pennsylvania line or quota of the troops of this state*, and in the name and for the use of such person or persons, or some other who *at the time of such issuing was* (or were, or since hath or have been) *a citizen or citizens of this state, by actual residence within the same*," should be repealed. And in lieu thereof to enact,

"*Provided always*, That such certificates respectively were originally issued to, and given or granted for articles furnished or services done and performed, during the late war, by *inhabitants of Pennsylvania*, and in the name and for the use of such person or persons, who, at the time said debts were contracted, *was or were* and *now are* a citizen or citizens of this state, by actual residence within the same."

And that the *land-office laws* shall be altered in like manner, and so far as relates thereto, this shall be in force from and after its being enacted; but with regard to the funding laws, it shall be considered as taking effect from the passing of the act of the 1st March, 1786, which was the period when this revision should have been made. After the passing of this act, the *Comptroller-General* will not receive any certificates on loan but such as are justly entitled, and those which he has already issued must be examined by him, previous to their being presented to receive the next half year's interest; and such certificates or parts of certificates, as do not come within the true intent and meaning of the act, shall be delivered up to *be cancelled*, and the originals returned to the owners or possessors of those so delivered up.

If all such certificates were now in possession of the persons who loaned them, the plan would be perfectly easy, as they would be put in no worse situation than they were before, and have received two years interest for their trouble; and as to the inconvenience that would arise to the holders of such securities as may have purchased them since they were loaned, it is unavoidable. By this means the debt would be lessened so as to be brought within the abilities of the state; and the plain question is, whether it will be better to perform a disagreeable operation, to the supposed disadvantage of a few members, than suffer the system to exist in its present form, when it cannot afford the relief intended.

But if this is not thought practicable, we will probably have to comply with the system of general revenue proposed by Congress, or such other system as they may think most advisable; repeal our funding laws, cancel the state securities, deliver up the original ones to the proper owners, and refer them to the funds of the United States for payment.----Or otherwise reduce the rate per cent. of interest, until the funds of the state become productive, making it optional with the holders either to agree to said reduction, or accept the provision made by Congress. Such are the consequences which must naturally result from regulations made by individual members of the union, independent of, and different from, those recommended for the good of the whole!

It has been already mentioned, that "the declared design of "the *funding laws* was that of affording relief to such citizens of "Pennsylvania as were creditors of the union, until some gene-"ral system of revenue should be agreed upon by the United "States in Congress." However, we may reasonably suppose the period is fast approaching, when the national debt, both foreign and domestic, will be permanently provided for under the proposed *fœderal government*, by a *general impost* and *equal tax and excise* throughout the union, together with the sales of western territory. As the debt was *contracted* upon the credit of the United States, it ought to be *paid* in the same manner, and each individual of society should yield his just proportion; and this cannot be done but by a fœderal fund, neither can PUBLIC CREDIT be restored in any other way. All partial systems, which shall be found not to accord with fœderal measures, must necessarily be done away by the *General Assembly of the States*. In which case the credit of Pennsylvania will receive no injury, because it is done by a superior power, and for the good of the Union, and the creditors will chearfully accept a more stable security.

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* Whether the state was right in beginning to discharge part of the principal of the *continental debt* by the sales of land, &c. before she knew how far it might be either proper or advantageous in her account with the United States, I will not at present pretend to say; but it is inconsistent with the true principles of finance, to attempt to pay the *principal*, when unable to discharge even the *annual interest*. And her assumption of a *particular part* must appear highly absurd, when it is considered that she is still accountable with the other states, for the *aggregate* of both the foreign and *domestic* debt.

The Congress will no doubt take the impost and excise, and, if necessary, levy a general tax for payment of the interest, &c. of the foreign and domestic debt, and other fœderal purposes. *Of course, the state cannot levy an additional tax for the payment of the interest or principal of any debt that is chargeable to the Union.* Admitting, then, that Pennsylvania considers herself a domestic creditor, by holding the securities of the United States in lieu of those which she has issued, it is *idle to suppose that the Congress will allow her to set off the annual interest which may be due upon the continental certificates in her possession, against her proportion of the supplies of money which must necessarily be collected into the continental treasury for the support of the union.* Under the present confederation, where the demands of the union are *quotaed annually* upon the different states, this might possibly do; but under the new government, wherein it is proposed (see Sect. 8, Art. 1.) that there shall be a *consolidation*, so far as respects *taxation and revenue*, the idea would be ridiculous. No good reason therefore can be given, why the certificates shall not *revert* to the United States, or, in other words, why the creditors should not be allowed to receive the interest from the *fœderal treasury* in the first instance, or that the state should first receive and afterwards *retail* it to individuals. This would be employing *state agents* unnecessarily, and keeping certificates in circulation, *nominally* belonging to the state, whose credit must rest *solely* upon the United States, notwithstanding Pennsylvania has engaged to pay them off in the year 1796!----With regard to such certificates as the state has actually redeemed by the sales of land, the case is different, and she will no doubt receive the interest on them in common with other creditors.

A PENNSYLVANIAN.

Philad. Jan. 28, 1788.

NUMBER III.

To the MINORITY of the CONVENTION of *Pennsylvania*.

Gentlemen,

IN my former letters I endeavoured to point out certain provisions of the new Constitution, and several circumstances that must result from the proposed frame of government and the state constitutions, which might demonstrate, that there is no ground to apprehend a consolidation of the states, that shall join in the depending confederacy, into one government.

An observation of the honorable Mr. Wilson's has been adduced, among other arguments, to prove, that despotism would follow such a general government. I believe with him and with you, that such would be the consequence of *a single national constitution, in which all the objects of society and government were so completely provided for, as to place the several states in the union on the footing of counties of the empire.*---But permit me to ask you, gentlemen, will such be the condition of the states? Where is the county that can independently train its own militia, appoint its civil and militia officers, establish *a peculiar system* of penal laws, issue criminal process *in its own name*, erect corporations, *impose direct taxes*, excises and duties, hold lands in its own right, *commence war* on any emergency, *regulate descents*, prescribe *the qualifications* of electors, alter its constitution or *the principles* of its government, divide itself into separate and *independent parts*, join itself to another state, issue writs for elections, and regulate the same, enact inspection laws, *erect courts*, appoint judges, *commission* all its officers, create new offices, sell and give away its lands, *erect fortifications*, and, in short, where is the county in the union, or in the world, that can exercise in any instance *independent legislative, executive or judicial powers?*

Those three gentlemen who with-held their names from the act of the fœderal convention could not have apprehended the annihilation of the state governments, while that house was sitting, or they would, under the influence of such a fear, certainly have pressed for a bill of rights. It appears they did not think one so necessary, as to concert a single motion to obtain it: A conclusive proof, in my mind, that they saw no symptoms of a design to consolidate in the framers of the plan, and that they had no apprehensions of the kind themselves.

The construction of the senate affords an absolute certainty, that the states will not lose their present share of separate powers. No state is to lose its voice therein without *its own consent*. Governor Randolph justly observes, that the force of the constitution of any state can only be lessened *by the absolute grant of its own citizens*. Whatever therefore is now possessed will remain, unless transferred by new grants. The state legislatures too being the immediate representatives and guardians of their *respective* constituents, and being the powerful creators of the senators, it cannot be apprehended, either that they will give away their own powers, or that they will chuse men who are unfriendly to them; nor is it at all probable that a senator would hazard the displeasure of the people, or the vengeance of so potent a body as a state legislature, by sacrificing their interests or powers. Rather may it be expected, that his interest and connexions in the state will too partially attach him to it, to the injury of national objects; or that he may neglect general concerns, from a desire to please a legislature or a people, who will be to him *the source of honors, emolument and power*.

So *independent* will the state governments remain, that their laws may, and in some instances will, be *severer* than those of the union. Treason against the United States, for instance, cannot be attended with confiscation and corruption of blood; but by the existing laws of all the states, *the unoffending families* of attainted persons, stripped of all hereditary rights, and condemned to the bitter portion of extreme poverty, are left without their friend and parent, to meet the trials of the world alone: An awful monument of *the sovereign and avenging power* of their native state. Let the Representative or Senator who may meditate the annihilation of the governmont of his state duly consider this, before it be too late.

You apprehend the power of Congress to lay direct taxes will tend to produce consolidation. But the several states possess that power also, and by an *early*, wise and faithful exercise of it, can always supercede the use of it by Congress. For example; if ten thousand pounds were apportioned to Pennsylvania, to make up the interest on our foreign debts by the end of 1788, a tax for which would be laid in July, our legislature might proceed in the most easy and expeditious way to raise the money, against the time when the fœderal government must necessarily proceed, and by paying our quota into the fœderal treasury would fulfil the requisitions of the law. A fœderal government, that shall possess the least degree of policy or virtue, would never attempt to interfere with such honest, wise and effectual arrangements of any state. It cannot be reasonably feared that a fœderal legislature, chosen by *the equal voices* of all our citizens, *the poor, as well as the rich*, will ever wrest from the hands of the people and states, who respectively appoint them, powers so wisely placed and so honestly applied.

The check of the Senate on the appointment of officers will exceedingly favor the preservation of the state governments. Let us suppose an expedition on foot, which requires a number of general officers, whom a President might be inclined to appoint from the state to which he belongs, or for which several persons are nominated, that are too partially attached to the fœderal government, or desirous of lessening the powers of the separate states. *The Senate can reject them all*, and independently give their reasons to the people and the legislatures. That they will often do so, we cannot doubt, when we remember *where their private interests, affections and connexions lie*, to whom they will owe *their seats*---to whom they must look for *future favors* of the same kind.

The lordship of the soil is one of the most valuable and powerful appendages of sovereignty---This remains *in full perfection* with every state. From them must grants flow, to them must be paid *the annual acknowledgment*, whether it be a mere compliance with form in the rendering of a pepper corn, or *a solid revenue* in the payment of a quit-rent. To them also, as original and rightful proprietaries and *lords of the soil*, will the estates of extinct families revert.

Independent revenues and resources are indubitable proofs of *sovereignty*. The states will possess many of those which now exist, and which may hereafter be created. Taxes on state offices, fees for grants of lands, and various licences, tolls on rivers, canals, and roads not being post-roads, rents of public buildings, escheats, the mighty fund of quit-rents, and sales of lands; these and many others are (exclusively of Congress) within the power of the several states, besides their having access, in common with the fœderal government, to every source of revenue, but the duties on foreign merchandize and ships.

IMPEACHMENTS within the several states will afford them opportunities of exerting the most dignified and awesful powers of sovereignty. The people of every state, by their constitutional representatives, may impeach the public officer, however great or daring, that shall presume to violate their exclusive rights, or offend against the peace and dignity of their commonwealth, and may punish him, on conviction, by fine, imprisonment or death, without any possible interference of Congress.

But, Gentlemen, the subject is inexhaustible. Every section in the fœderal constitution, as we peruse it, affords *new ideas* opposed to consolidation: Every moment's reflexion, on the operation and tendency of the proposed government, adds to their number. I will not therefore trespass longer on your time. I will rest the matter on your own good sense and candor, confidently trusting that the removal of your apprehensions on this important point will render the new constitution more agreeable to you. Thinking, as you did, consolidation was intended and would take place, and that it must produce a despotism, you would have been criminal in assenting to the plan proposed; but I will hope that the consideration of this point which we have taken together, will remove your fears, and open the door to comfortable hopes, rather than to apprehensions, from the great measure now waiting the Fiat of the people of the United States.

A FREEMAN.

NUMBER I.

To the PEOPLE of the UNITED STATES.

Friends and Countrymen,

THE dissent of the Minority of the Pennsylvania Convention may be considered, without impropriety, as an address to your feelings and understandings, as well as to those of their immediate constituents. I trust, therefore, you will think me excusable in claiming your attention to an explanation of our affairs in this state, and to a few strictures on that publication, which, from my respect to you, and to those gentlemen, as well as from my concern for the all-important question before us, I shall render as decent and rational as may be in my power.

There are few topics of any magnitude, which do not require some previous explanations to render them more perfectly and easily understood. Tho' the discussions of the fœderal constitution which have already taken place obviate the necessity of preparatory observations on that subject, yet a fair and decent explanation of some other matters will probably have its use. It is my intention to develope, as far as I am able, *the principles and grounds of the opposition in Pennsylvania*, not with a view to offend, but in order that you may judge, how far it arises from reasonable objections to the proposed constitution, and how far it is created by other causes. If I am obliged to touch on any tender *parts of our* state system, it shall be my study to do it with a delicate hand and becoming temper, though, from my duty to you, I will endeavour to perform the task with firmness and fidelity.

It will be necessary to inform you that the nineteen members of our last General Assembly, who dissented from the vote for calling a Convention, and who finally seceded from the House, were *all* of what is here called *the Constitutional Party*, or supporters of the present constitution of this state, some principles and articles of which I shall hereafter take occasion to explain. The fixteen gentlemen, who signed the seceding address, were a part of those nineteen, and of course *all* in the same political interest in our state affairs. The twenty-three members, who composed the Minority of the State Convention, were all likewise of the same party, and some of them were among the nineteen seceders. In neither case was there *a single person* of any *other* political connexion. I must observe however, and with particular satisfaction I do so, that the Majority both in the last and present Assembly, and in the State Convention, as also our Deputation to the Fœderal Convention, contained some decided friends of our state constitution. I rejoice in this opportunity of paying a just tribute to the virtue and patriotism of those gentlemen, who, impelled by their sense of duty, have calmly separated from their late friends, and magnanimously supported their former opponents in a measure which they conceived essential to the public happiness. I must add farther, that instances of this disinterested conduct have been very frequent among those members of that party, who have never aimed at the powers, honors or profits of office. Great numbers of valuable men, of this description, have exhibited similar proofs of their despising the distinctions of party, when put in competition with so important a matter as the proposed Constitution.

Further proofs of the influence of our state politics will be found in the address of the minority of the Convention. Those gentlemen suggest the probability of its originally being intended as a plan for altering the constitution of the state, which you well know was not the case; and they afterwards declare that six of our Deputies (the whole number being eight) *were uniform and decided opponents to the Constitution of this commonwealth.*"

You well know, my countrymen, the unhappy and baneful party contentions which have distracted Pennsylvania. From your own observations and the history of mankind you have been taught, how frequently *the mad'ning jealousy of partizans* has blinded the eyes of the best intentioned men, and marr'd the most salutary plans. In this state, and on this great occasion, we are called to witness the effects of this unhappy spirit. You are not, however, to credit this on my bare assertion. Many of you already know it, and I have adduced the proof of facts to shew you, that tho' all the members of the party did not join the opposition, either in the Legislature or the Convention, yet that the minority of both bodies are *all* constitutionalists, unmixed with any other of the various descriptions of people which compose the state.

Let me entreat then, *by the love you bear our common country*, that you receive with caution the measures and addresses of an opposition, in which deep rooted personal enmities, considerations surely foreign to the subject, bear so large a share. In my next paper I shall endeavour candidly to lay before you some of the qualities of that state constitution, to which the minority of our Convention are confessedly attached, in order that you may judge for yourselves how far you are likely to concur with them in any plan of fœderal government. My object is *neither to offend or ensure the opposition in Pennsylvania*, but to enable you to determine whether another Convention, or any thing less than a total alteration of your most established opinions on government, could unite you in sentiment with them.

A PENNSYLVANIAN.

PORTSMOUTH, January 18.

The town of Newmarket have made choice of Col. Nathaniel Rogers for their representative in the ensuing Convention.

The above town, at their meeting for the choice of a representative, passed a vote, approving of the proposed constitution, and expressing their desire that it may be adopted in this state, without any alteration, addition or diminution.----Well done, patriotic citizens of Newmarket, may your example be followed by every town in the state.---And may all unite, as one family, in raising that pillar for New-Hampshire, which has justice for its base---wisdom, honor, truth and might for its materials---and LIBERTY for its pyramid.

BOSTON January 24.

[The public being desirous to know the result of the conversation in Convention, on Saturday last, on the propriety of Mr. Gerry being permitted to give any other information than of facts particularly asked after, and which it appears has given Mr. G. offence, we lay before our readers, a copy of that gentleman's letter to the Convention, as read yesterday afternoon.]

SIR, Cambridge, 21st Jan. 1788.

IT is with great reluctance that I trespass a moment on the time of the hon. convention, employed as it is, on a subject of the highest importance to this country, but I am under the necessity of stating some facts, and their consequences, as they relate to myself.

On the 14th of this month the convention passed a vote, requesting me "to take a seat in the house, to answer any question of fact from time to time, that the convention may want to ask, respecting the passing of the constitution." This request was unexpected, and I complied with it, contrary to my inclination, not doubting in the least that I should be treated with delicacy and candour.

Every gentleman who will reflect but a moment, must be sensible, that my situation on the floor of the convention was not eligible---that it was a humiliating condition, to which nothing could have produced my submission but the respect I entertained for the hon. convention, and the desire I had of complying with their wishes.

After having, on Saturday morning, stated an answer to the question proposed the preceding evening, I perceived that your hon. body were considering a paragraph which respected an equal representation of the states in the senate, and one of my hon. colleagues observed, that this was agreed to by a committee consisting of a member from each state, and that I was one of the number. This was a partial narrative of facts, which I conceived placed my conduct in an unfavourable point of light, probably without any such intention on the part of my colleague.

I was thus reduced to the disagreeable alternative of addressing a letter to your honor for correcting this error, or of sustaining the injuries resulting from its unfavorable impressions: not in the least suspecting, that when I had committed myself to the convention without the right of speaking in my own defence, any gentleman would take an undue advantage from being a member of the house, to continue the misrepresentation, by suppressing every attempt on my part to state the facts. I accordingly informed your honor, that I was preparing a letter to throw light on the subject, and at my request you was so obliging as to make this communication to the house. My sole object was, to state the matter as it respected my conduct, but I soon perceived that it was misunderstood by the hon. Judge Dana, who rose with an appearance of party virulence which I did not expect, and followed one misrepresentation with another, by impressing the house with the idea, that I was entering into their debates. I requested leave repeatedly to explain the matter, but he became more vehement, and I was subject to strictures from several parts of the house, until it adjourned, without even being permitted to declare, that I disdained such an intention, and did not merit such unworthy treatment.

I confess to you, Sir, that the indelicacy and disingenuity of this procedure, distressed my feelings beyond any thing I had ever before experienced: For, had every member of the honorable house requested me by a vote to partake in their debates, I should have considered it as improper and unconstitutional, and from principles of decency and propriety, should have declined their request---and Judge Dana has been too long in public life with me, not to know, that it has never been my practice to attain objects by improper means. Indeed, Sir, so remote were my wishes from entering into your debates, that after having passed a judgment on the constitution in the Federal Convention, I would not have taken a seat in the State Convention with the unanimous suffrages of the citizens of Massachusetts, because, in a matter of such important consequence, it was my wish that the final decision should be made by themselves. This was a fact early known to my particular friends, and I do not mention it to suggest an impropriety in accepting a seat in both Conventions, but merely to shew the injustice done me on this occasion.

If Judge Dana was apprehensive that the facts which I should state would eventually prejudice the cause he so ardently advocated, still I conceive, he could not be justified in precluding those facts, which were necessary to do me justice; for bad indeed must be that cause which will not bear the light of truth.

Judge Dana took sanctuary under the rules of the house, but I never yet heard of a rule, that was intended to prevent an injured person from addressing a letter to the body who should redress his wrongs, or from giving information of such an intention: and I conceive, sir, that neither the honorable convention, or any republican body on earth, who had requested an individual to attend them for the purpose of giving information, would have had any objection to granting him leave to speak, much less to address to them a letter, merely for the purpose of setting a matter right, which in the progress of debates had by an erroneous statement tended to his injury.

It is true, sir, I differ in opinion from a number of respectable members of your honorable house, on the subject of the proposed constitution: But I flattered myself, that not a member could be found so deficient in liberality, as to bear animosity towards me on this account. The strong impressions which I felt, and which I still feel, that this system, without amendment, will destroy the liberties of America, inferred on me an indispensible obligation to give it my negative: And having done this, I feel the approbation of my own mind, which is infinitely preferable to universal applauses without it. If, nevertheless, my conduct in this instance has given offence; if there is at this time so little freedom in America, as that a person in discharging a most important public trust, cannot conduct according to the obligations of honor, and dictates of his conscience; it appears to me of little consequence what form of government we adopt, for we are not far removed from a state of slavery.

I shall only add, sir, that I have subjoined a state of facts, founded on documents relative to my consent, that the lesser states should have an equal representation in the senate---that I still entertain the highest respect for the honorable convention, who I am sure will never countenance unfair proceedings, but that I cannot again place myself in a situation, where I must hear my conduct misrepresented without the privilege of requesting leave of your honorable body to establish facts and promote justice.

I have the honor to be, sir, with the highest respect for the honorable convention, and yourself, your most obedient, and very humble servant,

E. GERRY.

To the Hon. JUDGE CUSHING,
Vice-President of the Convention of Massachusetts.

PHILADELPHIA, February 6.

A correspondent has furnished us with the following authentic account of the late melancholy accident which has so much excited the sympathy of the public for some days past: ----

Mr. David Lewis and Mr. Joseph Thomas had accompanied Miss Morton, (daughter of Mr. John Morton) and Miss Hollingsworth, (daughter of Mr. Levi Hollingsworth) in a sleigh, on a visit to an intimate friend lately married, and removed from the city into Chester county:-----They set off on their return home on Tuesday last; when they reached Darby Creek, they found it so swelled by the rain and melting snow, that the ford over which the Marple road led was altogether impassible: they enquired of the neighbours, and were informed that there was a good bridge at a small distance up the creek; they accordingly went thither---they examined the bridge and road, and conceived it safe: the driver and the two gentlemen got out in order to see the way before the passage was attempted; the bridge was immediately below the confluence of two streams, and the road beyond the bridge passed over low grounds then overflowed by the fresh---after this examination Mr. Lewis went into the sleigh to drive it, while the driver and Mr. Thomas were endeavouring to make their way across the overflowed grounds as well as they could on foot, that the sleigh might be easier drawn; the course of the road could not be exactly seen through the water that covered it, and after they had left the bridge about eighty yards, the near horse slipt into one of the streams, which ran nearly parallel to the road, and drew the other horse and sleigh after him. Mr. Thomas seeing their danger, crossed the road and came to their assistance, seizing hold of the back part of the sleigh; but by this time the current had entered between the off horse and the bank of the stream, and turned them round with such rapidity as to baffle all his strength: he however determined to risk his life with those in the sleigh, and accordingly stuck to it, endeavouring to keep it from oversetting. The horses swam, and aimed at the opposite shore of the creek; but the stream was too rapid, and carried them down backwards to the bridge, where Mr. Thomas received a heavy blow against one of the timbers, and losing his hold, drifted in the stream; the sleigh followed, passing under the bridge. Mr. Thomas swam to the shore, but before he reached it the sleigh overset, and Mr. Lewis and the two ladies were committed to the current, which drove Mr. Lewis and Miss Morton within reach of the branches of a stooping tree, which they laid hold of, and she by his assistance was enabled to stick to, until Mr. Thomas came to their assistance, and thus their lives were providentially saved; but Miss Hollingsworth (being nearer the middle of the stream) was carried rapidly down---and before the others got to the fast land, so as to rest their exhausted limbs in safety, she disappeared. Several neighbours were by this time collected, and searched for the body in vain. It was found about break of day the next morning, near half a mile below the bridge, and brought to town in the evening---it was interred on Friday afternoon in the Friends burial ground, attended by the greatest concourse of people of every religious denomination that has perhaps ever been collected together upon any occasion in this city.

The blooming beauty, the sweetly engaging disposition, the amiable and unaffected simplicity of manners, the enlightened mind and cultivated understanding of this accomplished young lady, render the catastrophe the most affecting of any we recollect to have happened; and the mournful solemnity which attended the funeral fully evinces, that sympathy and compassion are eminent characteristics of the citizens of Philadelphia.

The companions in this distressing scene suffered much from the floating ice and the inclemency of the element in which they remained so long; but it is hoped their health is not permanently injured. The poignant grief which the untimely fate of their amiable deceased friend has fixed in their hearts, will retard their recovery, and can only be abated and alleviated by the lenient hand of time.

A tender and affectionate father and mother, and surviving brothers and sister, deeply lament the early removal of a beloved companion, calculated by nature and education to enliven the chearful and mitigate the gloomy hours of life. The sex has lost one of its brightest ornaments, and her friends will long continue to feel and regret her separation from them---

"But as they weep let them be sure to say,
"The Lord who gives has right to take away."

In consequence of a publication (signed Centinel) which appeared in the Boston Gazette of the 21st ult. purporting that the most diabolical plan was on foot to corrupt the members of Convention, who oppose the adoption of the new Constitution, and that large sums of money have been brought from a neighbouring state for that purpose, the Convention of Massachusetts passed a resolve for enquiring into the subject of the said publication, and for ascertaining the truth or falshood of the suggestions therein contained; and accordingly ordered the Messenger to request the Printers of the paper to appear before them forthwith, to give information respecting the publication. The Messenger having waited on the Printers, they in the afternoon sent a letter to the Convention, acquainting that honorable body, that the gentleman who furnished them with the information, had said he had good foundation for it, and that they could not give up his name. On this a committee was raised, to take their letter into consideration, who have not yet reported; but from many circumstances that have transpired, we are authorised to assure the public, that it is a false and groundless fabrication.

Sunday last Capt. Decature, in the sloop Nancy, got safe into Hereford Inlet, (about twelve miles N. E. of the Pitch of Cape-May) after a passage of 72 days from Demarara. He has been on the coast since the 25th of December, and fifteen times blown off. His mate and one of his hands were washed overboard, but the mate was fortunately saved by catching hold of a rope; another of his men had an arm broke by the same sea. The vessel being leaky, the sails torn to pieces, and his provisions expended, Capt. Decature almost despaired of being able to make any port, when he fortunately fell in with Mr. MATTHEW HAND, one of the Cape-May Pilots, who made it a rule to go out in his boat every fair day. To this vigilant Pilot Capt. Decature feels himself greatly indebted for the present safety of himself and vessel. As soon as the sloop was got into a place of safety, Mr. Hand went out in quest of two sloops then in the offing.

Married, at Providence, Mr. John Francis, merchant, late of this city, to Miss Abby Brown, daughter of John Brown, Esq; a young lady richly possessed of every requisite to dignify and adorn the connubial state.

*** Agreeable to the last Will and Testament of JOHN PETTY, deceased, The Overseers of the Poor will deliver out Bread to the Poor of the City and Liberties TO-MORROW MORNING, at Ten o'Clock, at the Court-house.

February 6th, 1788.

Pennsylvania Hospital Medical Library.

THE following BOOKS are missing. The Gentlemen who have them in possession will oblige the Contributors, by returning them to WILLIAM GARDNER, Apothecary, at the Hospital.

Van Swieten's Commentaries, Vol. 7th.
Astruc on the Venereal Disease, Vol. 2d.
M'Quere's Elements of Chemistry, Vol. 1st.
Hoffman's Works, Vol. 5th.

By order of a Board of Managers,
1st Mo. 28, 1788. SAMUEL COATES, Clerk.

THE RAISING:

A NEW SONG FOR FEDERAL MECHANICS.

I.

COME muster, my Lads, your mechanical Tools,
Your Saws and your Axes, your Hammers and Rules;
Bring your Mallets and Planes, your Level and Line,
And Plenty of Pins of American Pine;
For our Roof we will raise, and our Song still shall be---
A Government firm, and our Citizens free.

II.

Come, up with *the Plates*, lay them firm on the Wall,
Like the People at large, they're the Ground-work of all;
Examine them well, and see that they're sound,
Let no rotten Parts in our Building be found;
For our Roof we will raise, and our Song still shall be---
Our Government firm, and our Citizens free.

III.

Now hand up *the Girders*, lay each in his Place,
Between them *the Joists* must divide all the Space;
Like Assembly-men, *these* should lye level along,
Like *Girders*, our Senate prove loyal and strong;
For our Roof we will raise, and our Song still shall be---
A Government firm, over Citizens free.

IV.

The Rafters now frame---your *King-Posts* and *Braces*,
And drive your Pins home, to keep all in their Places;
Let Wisdom and Strength in the Fabric combine,
And your Pins be all made of American Pine;
For our Roof we will raise, and our Song still shall be---
A Government firm, over Citizens free.

V.

Our *King-Posts* are Judges---how upright they stand,
Supporting the *Braces*, the Laws of the Land---
The Laws of the Land, which divide Right from Wrong,
And strengthen the Weak, by weak'ning the Strong;
For our Roof we will raise, and our Song still shall be---
Laws equal and just, for a People that's free.

VI.

Up! Up with the Rafters---each Frame is a State!
How nobly they rise! their Span, too, how great!
From the North to the South, o'er the Whole they extend,
And rest on the Walls, while the Walls they defend!
For our Roof we will raise, and our Song still shall be---
Combined in Strength, yet as Citizens free.

VII.

Now enter the *Purlins*, and drive your Pins through,
And see that your Joints are drawn home, and all true;
The *Purlins* will bind all the Rafters together,
The Strength of the Whole shall defy Wind and Weather;
For our Roof we will raise, and our Song still shall be---
United as States, but as Citizens free.

VIII.

Come, raise up the Turret---our Glory and Pride---
In the Centre it stands, o'er the Whole to preside;
The Sons of *Columbia* shall view with Delight
It's Pillars, and Arches, and towering Height;
Our Roof is now rais'd, and our Song still shall be---
A Federal Head, o'er a People still free.

IX.

Huzza! my brave Boys, our Work is complete,
The World shall admire *Columbia*'s fair Seat;
It's Strength against Tempest and Time shall be Proof,
And Thousands shall come to dwell under our ROOF.
Whilst we drain the deep Bowl, our Toast still shall be---
Our Government firm, and our Citizens free.

A. B.

TO BE LETT,

A PLANTATION, with a large tract of banked meadow, situate in Gloucester county, New-Jersey, opposite to Chester. Any person, with a good capital, inclinable to take the above, may know the terms, by applying as the Printers will direct.

Whereas the PARTNERSHIP of

David and Matthew Duncan

Was DISSOLVED on the 1st day of October last,

ALL Persons INDEBTED to, or who have DEMANDS on the SAME, are requested to settle with DAVID DUNCAN.

Philadelphia, Feb. 2, 1788. ct 3 m.

TO BE SOLD,

A LARGE two-story Stone Dwelling-House and Kitchen, and Lot or Piece of Ground, Situate on Germantown main street, above the market-house, being about 133 feet and 9 inches front, and 396 feet back: Having thereon a Tan-Yard with 32 Vats, Lime-Handlers, a Stone Bark and Mill-House, Currying and Lime-House, a good Spring with a Spring-House and Pump, a large Copper Boiler, Barn, Waggon-house, Stables, Garden, &c. containing about an acre, and is known by the name of JONES's TAN-YARD.

Also a Tract or Piece of Land, situate back of the above premises, fronting on Bensel's lane, leading to Schuylkill, very well improved, and having a considerable number of excellent Fruit-Trees.

Any person inclining to purchase the above premises, together or separately, is desired to apply to PETER LE BARBIER DUPLESSIS, Esquire, in Chesnut-street, near Third-street, or to JOSEPH FERREE.

N. B. An indisputable title will be given for the above, as the mortgage will be previously discharged, and PENNSYLVANIA or JERSEY MONEY taken for half of the purchase money.

The above, if not sold within a month from the date hereof, will be let. Enquire as above, where a number of Tracts of Land, patented or only warranted, may be had, at the most reasonable price. Philadelphia, February 1, 1788.

Goshen, Chester county, January 21, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, on Thursday, the 14th day of February next, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, on the premises, A messuage, plantation and tract of land, situate in the township of West-town, containing 91 acres more or less, bounded by lands of Aaron James, Joshua Hoops and others; seized and taken in execution, as the estate of Isaiah Hoops and John Brown, and to be sold, by EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

Goshen, Chester county, January 21, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be exposed to public Sale, on Friday, the 15th day of February next, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, on the premises, A Messuage, Plantation and Tract of Land, situate in the Township of Williston, containing 253 acres more or less; bounded by lands of Stephen Davie, Samuel Evans and others; seized and taken in execution as the estate late of John Boggs, deceased, and to be sold, by † EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

Just Published, and to be Sold by
THOMAS DOBSON and WILLIAM YOUNG, in Second-street, and JOSEPH CRUKSHANK, in Market-street,

CONDUCTOR GENERALIS:

OR THE

OFFICE, DUTY *and* AUTHORITY

OF

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE,

High-Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, Coroners, Conſtables, Gaolers, Jury-Men, and *Overſeers* of the *Poor.*

AS ALSO

The OFFICE *of* CLERKS *of* ASSIZE *and of the* PEACE, &c.

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By JAMES PARKER, Eſquire, *late* Juſtice *of the* Peace *in Middleſex county, New-Jerſey.*

Adapted to theſe United States.

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*** This Book is highly eſteemed, and very neceſſary for gentlemen in the commiſſion of the peace; likewiſe for every other perſon, who would wiſh to be acquainted with the laws of the land we live in.

As the above Stores alſo may be had, juſt Publiſhed,

Newton's Diſſertations on the Prophecies, 2 vols. 20*s*.
Edwards's Hiſtory of Redemption, 10*s*.
Edwards on Religious Affections, 10*s*.

New-Caſtle, January 8, 1788.

For Sale by Public Auction,

THE real eſtate late of JOHN VAN CORTLE, deceaſed; ſituate in the town of New-Caſtle, in the Delaware ſtate, conſiſting of a Brick Meſſuage and Lot of Ground, where the ſaid deceaſed had lived, on the north-weſt ſide of Front or Water-ſtreet. A large unimproved Lot, adjacent to the aforeſaid meſſuage, on the ſouth-weſterly ſide thereof, extending from Front-ſtreet to the market ſquare. Two other Brick Meſſuages occupied together, and their Lots, extending into the river Delaware, now in the tenure of Gunning Bedford, Eſquire, the beſt ſituation in the town for erecting a wharff upon. One other Brick Meſſuage and Lot, on the ſouth ſide of the ſtreet leading from the Court-houſe to the river, in the tenure of Mr. Yeates. One Frame Meſſuage and its Lot, in the tenure of Capt. Webb, adjoining the next preceding lot; and a graſs Lot, containing between 4 and 5 acres, lying on the back ſtreet of the ſaid town and the road leading thereout towards Chriſtiana bridge, in the tenure of Mr. Lyon. The ſale aforeſaid to be made by the ſubſcriber, as executor of the deceaſed, in purſuance of his laſt will, on Tueſday, the 19th of February next, in the town of New-Caſtle, for the payment of the deceaſed's debts; on which day his creditors or their agents are requeſted to attend, (as the executor is apprehenſive that the whole of the property of the ſaid deceaſed may not, in the preſent ſcarcity of cash, fell for ſufficient to pay the debts, unleſs a credit ſhall be given to the purchaſers for the greater part of the purchaſe monies, and this the principal creditors of the deceaſed ſhould attend unto.) All ſuch creditors as have not tranſmitted a ſtate of their demands to the executor, are requeſted ſo to do before the ſaid day of ſale, to enable him to adjuſt the ſame for due order of payment.

GEORGE READ.

Agreeable to the laſt will and teſtament of WILLIAM PEARCE, *deceaſed, and by virtue of a decree of the Court of Chancery, Will be expoſed to Public Sale, on the 8th day of February next, upon the premiſes,*

TWO Valuable Tracts of LAND, adjoining, ſuppoſed to contain 326 acres, lying on Langford's Bay, Kent county, Maryland, and about five miles from Cheſter-Town. Attendance will be given, and the terms made known, by

¶2w. HENRY WARD PEARCE, Adminiſtrator.
January 8th, 1788.

Evesham township, Burlington county, Jan. 28, 1788.

THREE POUNDS Reward.

RAN away, this morning, from the ſubſcriber, an apprentice lad, named JOHN WHITECRAFT, about 19 years of age, of a fancy complexion, freckled in the face; had on and took with him, a fuſtian coatee, jacket and breeches, a new round hat, a pair of woollen trowſers, two jackets, one nap, the other coarſe cloth of a light colour, two pair of ſtockings, one white, the other blue. Whoever takes up and ſecures ſaid apprentice, ſo that his maſter may get him again, ſhall have the above reward, paid by

WILLIAM SHARP.

TO BE LET,

And may be entered upon the 1ſt of *April* next,

A VERY valuable and well ſituated MERCHANT-MILL, in Upper Dublin township, Montgomery county, and ſtate of Pennſylvania, near Germantown great road, and about 13 miles from Philadelphia. The ſaid mill is on a never failing ſtream of water, generally known by the name of Wiſſahickon creek, is very conveniently built, and in exceeding good repair, has two pair of ſtones, one of which are burs, lately fitted up in the beſt order for merchandizing; together with a wind-mill, and new bolting cloths of the firſt quality. Said mill is conveniently ſituated to an exceeding good run of wheat, together with a vaſt run of country buſineſs. Alſo a valuable FARM adjoining the ſame, containing 135 acres of land, about 40 acres of which is good meadow ground, and a great part of the reſt good arable land, all well watered; whereon is a good two ſtory ſtone dwelling houſe and a large kitchen adjoining the ſame, a well of good water, a good bearing orchard, barn, ſtable and other out houſes, conveniently ſituated for carrying on the buſineſs of the ſame. The whole will be let together, or ſeparate. Any perſon or perſons inclining to rent or treat about the ſame, may be informed, by applying to the ſubſcriber near the premiſes.

Jan. 14, 1788. † JACOB REIFF, jun.

PHILIP BOEHM,

At his Store in Second-ſtreet, nine doors below Race ſtreet, has for Sale the following GOODS, at the moſt reaſonable *prices*, for CASH or SHORT CREDIT, viz.

JAMAICA Spirits,
Weſt-India and Philadelphia Rum,
Lisbon,
Mountain,
Teneriffe,
Fyal } WINES,
Gin by the Caſe,
Tea, Coffee, Pepper and Sugar,
Lamp Oil and Mackarel.

N. B. He hopes that his former Cuſtomers will favour him with their continuance. † 6t

To be SOLD at private Sale,

A LARGE commodious HOUSE, ſituate in Darby, next door to the Ship Tavern towards Philadelphia, very convenient for a large family, a good ſtand for a ſtore, or for a tradeſman that works in the houſe; there are four good rooms on each of the two firſt floors, and two ditto in the garrets, all of them ſeiled, with a good cellar under it, alſo a pump at the kitchen door. The lot it ſtands on is 50 feet wide and about 400 deep, with a barn and a number of fruit trees.

Alſo to be ſold, another adjoining it, with two rooms on a floor, and a good cellar. The lot is 50 feet front and 400 in depth, with a ſtable on it, and a variety of fruit trees. Any perſon inclining to purchaſe, may know the terms by applying to JESSE SHARPLESS, at the corner of Cheſtnut and Third-ſtreets, Philadelphia. If not ſold, it will be to be rented, and may be entered on the 1ſt day of April next. The terms will be made eaſy to the purchaſer. §

Doctor HILL's *American Balſam,*

IS to be ſold in Philadelphia, by Mr. William Poyntell, at his ſtore, the corner of Black Horſe alley, in Second-ſtreet, alſo by Mr. George Reinholt, in Market-ſtreet, the ſecond door above Fifth-ſtreet; by Mr. Steiner, at the German printing office, in Race-ſtreet; at Germantown, by Mr. Juſtus Fox; at Lancaſter, by Ludwick Lawman, Eſq; at New-York, by Hugh Oſine; and by the ſubſcriber, at her place in Blockley, price ſix ſhillings and ſix-pence a bottle, and by the dozen ſix ſhillings a bottle.

This Balſam is now upwards of 20 years ſo well known in America that it is a moſt effectual and infallible medicine for colds, coughs and aſthmas; it gives great relief in the moſt painful rheumatiſm, in cholics, gravel and conſumption; it is a moſt excellent cure in the whooping cough, and in moſt all the diſorders and ſickneſſes of children, and for many other diſeaſes, as may be ſeen in the printed direction in Engliſh and German on each bottle. In old diſeaſes of long ſtanding, it will be neceſſary to continue the uſe of this healing balſam for a reaſonable time, by more than one ſingle bottle, and then they may expect relief from this, as thouſands of people can teſtify who have tried other things without ſucceſs; there are indeed ſeveral balſams and preparations of medicine, which gives ſometimes preſent relief for a ſhort time in many diſorders, but ſoon after returns more furious than before, but this American balſam performed perfect and effectual cures; its fame is ſpread moſt every where, it is almoſt inconceivable to hear what ſurpriſing cures this balſam has performed with people who have tried and experienced its wonderful effects. Each bottle is ſealed up with the repreſentation of a certain plant in a heart, and if any balſam under this name ſhould be ſold in any other place not mentioned in my advertiſements, the public may be aſſured it is not Dr. Hill's balſam, but counterfeit, becauſe no other perſon is able to prepare the genuine balſam, for want of the principal ingredients of which Dr. Hill's American balſam is compoſed.

Since the former proprietors are deceaſed, both William Young, junior and ſenior, therefore the preſent is a ſiſter to William Young, jun. botaniſt. ¶ CHRISTIANA LEECH.

THE ACTING COMMITTEE of the Society for alleviating the Miſeries of Public Priſons, viſiting agreeable to their appointment, the Goal and Work-houſe of this city, have frequently wiſhed that the funds of their inſtitution would allow them to ſupply the *unhappy beings*, there confined, with ſuitable cloathing during this inclement ſeaſon; but as this is altogether out of their power, they find themſelves under the neceſſity of calling on their fellow citizens to afford all poſſible relief in this particular.—Any old blankets, ſheets, ſtockings, mens and womens apparel, will be highly acceptable: ſuch articles locked up, and forwarded to Mrs. *Richards*, at the Work-houſe, will be duly adminiſtered to the *wretched* and *ſuffering* priſoners. The Committee mean not to enlarge; they flatter themſelves the inhabitants of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, will, readily, out of their abundance, ſpare a little to *cloath* the *naked*, as they have already contributed toward *feeding* the *hungry*: and thus ſhall the bleſſing of *many*, *ready to periſh*, alight on the heads of their *humane* and *generous Benefactors*.

William Rogers,
John Morriſon,
Benjamin Thaw,
John Kaighn,
Francis Bailey,
Jeremiah Piper. } Acting Committee.

Philadelphia, Jan. 12, 1788.

CAME to the plantation of the ſubſcriber, living in Treddyffrin township, Cheſter county, Pennſylvania, about the beginning of December laſt, a ſmall ſorrel MARE, ſuppoſed to be ten or eleven years old, neither brand nor ear mark perceived. The owner is deſired to come, prove property, pay charges and take her away. § RICHARD MILES.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Saturday, the 9th of February next, at the houſe of Samuel Flack, inn-keeper, in Warwick township, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Meſſuage and Tract of Land, ſituate in Plumſtead township, containing about 17 acres and 115 perches, bounded by lands of Matthew Day, Edward Good, Chriſtian Overholtz, and others, taken in execution as the property of Jacob Glauſe, and to be ſold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, at the houſe of Samuel Flack, inn-keeper, in Warwick township, on Saturday, the 9th of February next, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Plantation or Tract of Land, ſituate in Plumſtead township, containing about 90 acres, be the ſame more or leſs; bounded by lands of John Dyer, Thomas Dyer, Thomas Wright, and others; late the property of Joſiah Dyer, deceaſed; taken in execution, and to be ſold by ¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Monday, the 18th of February next, at two o'clock in the afternoon, at the Court-houſe in Newtown, Two Lots of Land in Newtown aforeſaid, containing in the whole about ſix acres; the ſoil is of the beſt quality, and ſeveral dwelling-houſes are erected on the lots, one of which is occupied as an Inn, and is well ſituated for the ſame; there are alſo barns, ſtables and other neceſſary out-buildings, ſo as to render them very valuable and convenient; all late the property of Deborah Sedons, deceaſed, and to be ſold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Ridley township, Cheſter county, Dec. 20, 1787.

TAKEN treſpaſſing on the ſubſcriber's incloſure, two MARES, ſuppoſed to be about three years old, near 14 hands high; the one a ſorrel, has no perceivable mark; the other a black, with a ſtar in her forehead. The owner or owners, proving property and paying charges, may have them again, by applying to † JOHN NOBLIT.

TO BE SOLD,

Or Let on Improving Leaſes,

A BODY of very valuable Farming LANDS in Northampton county, Pennſylvania, 5 or 6 miles from the New-York line, beginning on the head waters of Shobeckling creek, about four miles from the river Delaware, and extending ſouth-weſterly about three miles, when the courſe of the lands turns from the ſouth, and runs nearly due weſt. The northernmoſt waters of the Equinunk touch two of the ſouthernmoſt lots. There is an ample quantity of graſs and meadow ground to each lot, and they are well timbered with beech, ſugar maple, birch, aſh, &c. The quality of theſe lands is in many inſtances very fine, and they will all make very good farms. Their produce may in a ſhort time be got to market on eaſy terms, from the improvement of the navigation of the Delaware, and of the Suſquehannah, a ſtream of which riſes in the weſtern part of the tract, and runs northerly into that river at the Great Bend. The diſtance from Eaſton is about 80 miles. They have the advantage of moſt of the unimproved lands now offering for ſale or leaſe, in being very near to thick ſettlements that lie eaſtward and ſouthward of them, and in having the ſettlements on the Suſquehannah in New-York and Pennſylvania, with that river itſelf, to a great diſtance. As there is every reaſon to expect that theſe lots will have ſeveral hundred families on them in the year 1788, they will form a frontier for the lands now offering. For terms, apply to CHARLES COXE, Eſq; Kingwood, Hunterdon county New-Jerſey, GEORGE PALMER, Eſq; Allentown township, Northampton county, Captain WILLIAM [illegible] Eaſton (who have actual ſurveys of the lands,) or to [illegible] to

ERIM TENCH COXE.

Cheſtnut-ſtreet, Jan. 9, 1788. N. FRANKLIN.

TO THE PUBLIC.

BY virtue of the authority veſted in us, the ſubſcribers, Auditors appointed by the court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia county, in a certain domeſtic attachment thereto depending, wherein Jacob Benner the elder and Jacob Benner the younger; executors of George Benner, deceaſed, are plaintiffs, and Edward M'Keggan, defendant, there will be ſold at public vendue, at the Old Coffee-Houſe, in the city of Philadelphia, on Wedneſday, the 13th day of February next, at ſix o'clock in the evening, for the benefit of the ſaid Edward M'Keggan, a certain two ſtory BRICK HOUSE, with the [illegible] GROUND whereon the ſame is erected, ſituate on the eaſt ſide of Third-ſtreet from Delaware, in the ſaid city, at the diſtance of 48 feet to the northward of Union-ſtreet; containing in front on Third-ſtreet 16 feet, and in length or depth 68 feet 6 inches, with the privilege of an alley, of three and an half feet wide, leading from Union-ſtreet.

The purchaſe money of the Ground on which the houſe ſtands, amounting to £ 175. with intereſt thereon from the 1ſt of March 1783, have not yet been paid; but the owners of the ſame will deliver the deed, as ſoon as the demand is diſcharged.

The Houſe is convenient, has a genteel appearance, and the ſituation pleaſant and agreeable. Attendance will be given by the ſubſcribers, JOHN BROWN,
Philadelphia county, JAMES ASH,
Jan. 9, 1788. THOMAS BRIGHTON.

WHITE and PATTON, Merchants of this city, late Copartners in Trade, having aſſigned to us, the ſubſcribers, all the eſtate, rights, credits and effects of ſaid copartnerſhip, and impowered us to collect and receive payment of and from all perſons indebted to the ſaid copartnerſhip aforeſaid. The debtors are hereby notified, that they reſpectively do pay or ſecure the payment in three months from the date hereof, they will be proceeded againſt according to law, without reſpect to perſons.

ABEL JAMES, } Aſſignees
Jan. 11, 1788. STEPHEN COLLINS, }

FOUR PENCE Reward.

RAN away from the ſubſcriber, living in Southampton township, Bucks county, on the 21ſt day of December laſt, an indented ſervant man, named William Hopper, near 21 years of age, has four months and eleven days to ſerve, black hair and black eyes, about 5 feet 8 inches high, well made; had on when he went away, a grey coloured upper jacket, a fuſtian jacket, ditto, old leather breeches, old ſhoes, with ods buckles, and a new hat. Whoever takes up the ſaid ſervant, and brings him home to his maſter, ſhall be paid the above reward, and reaſonable charges, or their paines, by § LEONARD KROESEN.

Mill Stones and Bolting Cloths,

FOR SALE BY

Robert Lewis & Sons,

At their STORES, and MILL-STONE MANUFACTORY, on the fourth wharff below the Drawbridge, and next to Hollingſworth's.

BURRS of excellent quality, juſt imported from Holland, and are now manufacturing into mill ſtones of all the dimenſions which may be ordered, by a compleat workman from England, and warranted at leaſt equal in quality, and at the ſame price as thoſe imported from Europe. Directions will be given (if required) for laying out the quarters, and dreſſing them to the beſt advantage, according to the temper of the ſtones.

COLOGNE MILL STONES (commonly called CULLENS) imported from Holland, a few of different ſizes.

COUNTRY-MADE ditto, from the American Rock, of the uſual ſizes, or any other that may be ordered. The beſt of millwright or country work, either to run together, or with a French Burr or Cologne, ever yet experienced in this ſtate.

Warranted Bolting Cloths.

A very extenſive and compleat aſſortment, lately imported from the manufactories, ſuitable to every branch of the Bolting buſineſs; which are to be diſpoſed of at the ſame low prices as they were ſold before the revolution, at the Stores above mentioned, or at ROBERT LEWIS's dwelling-houſe in Spruce-ſtreet, three doors from Third-ſtreet. MILLERS and others may be furniſhed with Cloths *of ſuperior quality and texture* to any we have hitherto known imported into America: Thoſe who are unacquainted with this very *different and preferable* article, may rely on being ſupplied with ſuch Cloths as will certainly anſwer their purpoſes, provided they attend to directions for affixing them on the Reels, in the moſt advantageous manner to perform the work intended; which will ſave the trouble and expence of returning Cloths of *an inferior kind*, which are frequently ſold in this and the neighbouring States.

PHILADELPHIA: Printed by HALL and SELLERS, at the NEW-PRINTING OFFICE, near the MARKET.

FEBRUARY, 1788. THE NUMB. 3011.

PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1788.

MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION.

Summary of the Arguments in Convention, on the Debates respecting Biennial Elections. *(Continued from our last.)*

MONDAY, January 14.

GENERAL Brooks (of Medford) in reply to general Heath, said, he recollected the paſſage of Monteſquieu; but he alſo recollected, that writer had ſpoken highly of the Britiſh government.---He then adverted to the objection to this ſection, of gen. Thompſon, and others, that biennial elections were a novelty, and ſaid we were not to conſider whether a meaſure was new, but whether it was proper. Gentlemen had ſaid, that it had been the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of this country to elect annually: But he aſked, have we not gone from a colonial to an independent ſituation? We were then provinces, we are now an independent empire; our meaſures, therefore, ſays he, muſt change with our ſituation. Under our old government the objects of legiſlation were few and divided; under our preſent they are many and muſt be united; and it appears neceſſary, that according to the magnitude and multiplicity of the buſineſs, the duration ſhould be extended; he did not, he ſaid, undertake to ſay how far. He then went into a view of the hiſtory of parliaments. The modern northern nations, he ſaid, had parliaments, but they were called by their kings---and the time, buſineſs, &c. of them depended wholly on their wills. We can, therefore, ſays he, eſtabliſh nothing from theſe; one general remark was, that in the reigns of weak princes, the power and importance of parliaments increaſed; in the reigns of ſtrong and arbitrary kings, they always declined: and, ſays he, they have been triennial, and they have been ſeptennial. The general combated the idea, that the liberties of the people depended on the duration of parliament, with much ability. Do we hear, aſked he, that the people of England are deprived of their liberties; or that they are not as free now as when they had ſhort parliaments? On the contrary, do not writers agree, that life, liberty and property, are no where better ſecured than in Great-Britain; and that this ſecurity ariſes from their parliaments being choſen for ſeven years. As ſuch is the ſituation of the people of England, and as no inſtance can be given wherein biennial elections have been deſtructive to the liberties of the people, he concluded by aſking, whether ſo much danger is to be apprehended from ſuch elections as gentlemen imagined?

General Thompſon. Sir, gentlemen have ſaid a great deal about the hiſtory of old times; I confeſs, I am not acquainted with ſuch hiſtory; but I am, ſir, acquainted with the hiſtory of my own country. I had the honor to be in the court laſt year, and am in it this year. I think, ſir, that had the laſt adminiſtration continued one year longer, our liberties would have been loſt, and the country involved in blood. Not ſo much, ſir, from their bad conduct, but from the ſuſpicions of the people of them. But, ſir, a change took place, from this change pardons have been granted to the people, and peace is reſtored. This, ſir, I ſay, is in favor of frequent elections.

[General T. was called to order, on the idea that he reflected on the laſt adminiſtration, a debate enſued, which ended on the Hon. Mr. White's ſaying, he wiſhed to put out every ſpark of the fire that appeared to be kindling; therefore moved to adjourn.]

AFTERNOON.

Dr. Jarvis opened the converſation of the afternoon by calling upon general Thompſon to proceed.

General Thompſon accordingly ſaid, that however juſt, however good, and however upright the adminiſtration may be, there was ſtill a great neceſſity for annual elections.

He thought a change of election was for the beſt, even if the adminiſtration pleaſed the people. Do the members of Congreſs, ſays he, diſpleaſe us, we call them home, and they obey; now, where is the difference of their having been elected for one or two years? It is ſaid that the members cannot learn ſufficiently in that time---Sir, I hope we ſhall never ſend men who are not learned. Let theſe members know their dependence upon the people, and I ſay, it will be a check on them, even if they were not good men; here the general broke out in the following pathetic apoſtrophe: "O! my country, never give up your annual elections, young men never give up your jewel!" He apologized for his zeal. He then drew a compariſon between the judges, &c. of this country before the revolution, who were dependent on Great-Britain for their ſalaries, and thoſe repreſentatives dependent on the continent---He concluded by hoping that theſe repreſentatives would be annually elected, and thereby feel a greater dependence on the people.

Mr. Gore.---It has been obſerved, that in conſidering this great and momentous queſtion, we ought to conſult the ſentiments of wiſe men, who have written on the ſubject of government, and to regulate our deciſion on this buſineſs. A paſſage is addreſſed from Monteſquieu, ſtating, that where the people delegate great power, it ought to be compenſated for by the ſhortneſs of the duration. Though perfectly agreeing with the author, I ſee not that it here applies to the ſubject under conſideration. This might be perfectly applicable to the ancient governments, where they had no idea of repreſentation, or different checks in the legiſlature or adminiſtration of government; but in the propoſed conſtitution, the powers of the whole government are limited to certain national objects, and are accurately defined, and the houſe of repreſentatives here is but one branch of the ſyſtem, and can do nothing of itſelf---Monteſquieu muſt have had in his mind the epiſtates of Athens, or the dictators of Rome, but certainly no ſuch obſervations can have weight in conſidering things ſo eſſentially different---But, Sir, gentlemen have ſaid, that annual elections were neceſſary to the preſervation of liberty, and that in proportion as a people lengthens the time which the repreſentative held his office, they loſt their liberties, and that all writers have agreed in this. I may be miſtaken, but I know no ſuch thing as a repreſentation of the people in any of the ancient republics, in England, from whence we received many of our ideas on this ſubject. King John covenanted with his people to ſummons certain claſſes of men to parliament; by the conſtitution of that country the king alone can convoke, and he alone, previous to the revolution, could diſſolve the parliaments to three years; but ſoon after, a parliament then ſitting, and near expiring, a rebellion broke out, and the Tories and Jacobites were gaining ſtrength, to ſupport the pretender's claim to the crown: ---had they diſſolved themſelves, and a new parliament been convoked, probably many of the very opponents to the government might have been elected. In that caſe they might have effected by law, what they, in vain, attempted by arms.

The parliament, therefore, extended their duration from triennial to ſeptennial---this was acquieſced in by the people, and the next parliament ſanctified the act----no evil, but great good, has been ſuppoſed to follow from their duration being thus extended---and if Monteſquieu, and Doctor Adams, think the Britiſh conſtitution ſo perfect, how much greater muſt be our ſecurity, when we reflect that our repreſentation is equal---that the powers of the government are ſo limited, and the checks ſo nicely appointed. If there be a repreſentation of the people in any other countries, and annual elections therein have been conſidered as the baſis of their freedom, I pray, gentlemen, to mention the inſtance---I confeſs I know none---People adopt a poſition, which is certainly true, viz. that elections ought to be frequent---but then, as we have been in the cuſtom of chuſing our repreſentatives annually, we have determined annually to be frequent, and that biennially, or any longer term than annual, is not frequent: But if gentlemen will only conſider the objects over which this government is to have rule and authority---and the immenſe and wide extended tracts of country, over which the repreſentatives are to paſs, before they reach the ſeat of government, we ſhall be convinced that two years is a ſhort time for the repreſentatives to hold their office---but, Sir, we muſt conſider this ſubject with reſpect to the general ſtructure of the conſtitution. The ſenate repreſents the ſovereignty of the ſtates---the houſe of repreſentatives, the people of the United States---the former have a longer term in their office, it is then neceſſary that that body which repreſents the people ſhould have a permanence in their office, to reſiſt any operations of the ſenate, which might be injurious to the people, if they were annual.---I ſubmit it to the good ſenſe of this houſe, whether they would be able to preſerve that weight in the ſyſtem, which the conſtitution intended they ſhould have, and which is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of the rights of the people.

TUESDAY, January 15.

The honorable Mr. King obſerved, that the convention would do well to lay aſide the terms, annual and biennial, and conſider the ſubject as it could be ſupported by principles. Much had been ſaid of the inſtruction to be derived from hiſtory on this point---he preſumed to doubt whether this was the caſe. From the continent of Europe, he believed, we could receive no inſtruction: Their parliaments, after the overthrow of the Roman empire, were not conſtructed upon the principle of a repreſentation of the people. The conqueror of a given diſtrict of country was, by the feudel ſyſtem, the king or prince of the people within his conquered territories: When he wiſhed the advice of any perſon, he ſummoned, uſually, a number of his principal officers, or the barons of his kingdom, to give him their council; but the people, or, as they were degradingly called, the vaſſals, were never conſulted: This certainly cannot be conſidered as a repreſentation of the people. This mode of aſſembling a parliament probably obtained in the early ſtages of the Engliſh hiſtory; but thoſe who have wrote on this ſubject agree that their information is very imperfect relative to the origin of Engliſh parliaments; they are not certain who compoſed the parliaments, how long they held their office, or concerning what points they were conſulted. Nothing clear on this ſubject appears before the 12th century. Magna Charta is the foundation of the imperfect repreſentation of England: Improvements have ſince been made in favor of a more equal and certain repreſentation of the people; but it is ſtill extremely imperfect and inſecure. Perhaps the people of America are the firſt, who, by the ſocial compact, ever obtained a right to a full and fair repreſentation, in making the laws of their country.---If, then, hiſtory can afford little or no inſtruction on this ſubject, the convention muſt determine the queſtion on its own principles-----It ſeems proper that the repreſentative ſhould be in office time enough to acquire that information which is neceſſary to form a right judgment; but that the time ſhould not be ſo long as to remove from his mind the powerful check upon his conduct, that ariſes from the frequency of elections, whereby the people are enabled to remove an unfaithful repreſentative, or to continue a faithful one. If the queſtion is examined by this ſtandard, perhaps it will appear, that an election for two years is ſhort enough for a repreſentative in Congreſs. If one year is neceſſary for a repreſentative in the ſtate legiſlature, where the objects of his deliberations are local, and within his conſtant obſervation---two years do not appear too long where the objects of deliberation are not confined to one ſtate, but extended to thirteen ſtates---where the complicated intereſts of united America are mingled with thoſe of foreign nations, and where the great duties of national ſovereignty will require his conſtant attention. When the repreſentatives of the colony of Maſſachuſetts were firſt choſen, the country was not ſettled more than 15 or 20 miles from Boſton, they then held their offices for one year. The emigrants from Maſſachuſetts, who ſettled on Connecticut river, appointed the repreſentatives to meet in the general court of that colony, for only ſix months. Maſſachuſetts, although her ſettlements have extended over almoſt the whole territory, have continued to depute repreſentatives for only one year, and Connecticut for only ſix months. But as in each of theſe colonies, when under the Britiſh government, the duties of the repreſentatives were merely local, the great duties of ſovereignty being veſted in their king---ſo, ſince the revolution, their duties have continued local, many of the authorities of ſovereignty being veſted in Congreſs. It is now propoſed to increaſe the powers of Congreſs: This will increaſe the duties of the repreſentatives; and they muſt have a reaſonable time to obtain the information neceſſary to a right diſcharge of their office.---It has been ſaid, that our anceſtors never relinquiſhed the idea of annual elections. This is an error: In 1643 the colonies of Plymouth, Maſſachuſetts, Connecticut and Newhaven, united in a confederacy, which continued about 40 years: Each colony ſent two commiſſioners as their repreſentatives; and by articles they were to be annually elected. About the year 1650, the general court of Maſſachuſetts inſtructed their commiſſioners to propoſe that the elections, inſtead of being annual, ſhould be only once in three years. The alteration did not take place; but the anecdote proves, that our anceſtors have not had an uniform predilection for annual elections.---Mr. King concluded by obſerving, that on a candid examination of this queſtion, he preſumed the conſtitution would not be objected to on account of the biennial election of the houſe of repreſentatives.

Judge Dana. The intention of my riſing, ſir, is to acquieſce with the gentleman from Newbury-Port, in favor of the expediency of biennial elections of our fœderal repreſentatives. From my own experience, I think them preferable to annual elections. I have, ſir, ſeen gentlemen in Congreſs, and delegates from this ſtate too, ſitting in that honorable body without a voice--without power to open their mouths, or lift up their hands, when matters of the higheſt importance to their ſtate have been under conſideration. I have ſeen members in Congreſs, for the ſpace of three months, without power, ſir, waiting for evidence of their re-election. Annual elections, ſir, are not long enough, in ſo great a continent. They keep the members always travelling about; and I am of opinion, that elections for two years are in no way ſubverſive of the liberties of the people. I, ſir, am one of the people, thank God! and am happy in having an opportunity of expreſſing my perſonal ſatisfaction of ſuch elections. For theſe, and a variety of other reaſons, Mr. Dana ſuggeſted that he thought this ſtate ought to be the firſt to adopt this method of election.

The honorable Mr. White ſtill thought, that Congreſs might perpetuate themſelves, and ſo reign over us.

Honorable Mr. Gorham obſerved (in continuation of Mr. Dana's obſervation) that there was not now a Congreſs, although the time of their meeting had conſiderably elapſed. Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, and ſeveral other ſtates, had not gone on; that there was now only five ſtates in Congreſs, when there ought to have been thirteen two months ago.

Mr. Carnes roſe to confirm it, and accordingly read part of a letter from the honorable Mr. Otis, the purport of which was, that there was much buſineſs to do, that only five ſtates were repreſented, and the probability of an Indian war, &c. evinced the great neceſſity of the eſtabliſhment of an efficient fœderal government, which will be the reſult of the adoption of the propoſed conſtitution.

Dr. Taylor roſe to anſwer two objections which had been made againſt annual elections; the diſtance of place was not ſo great but the delegates might reach Philadelphia in a fortnight; and as they were anſwerable to the people for their conduct, he thought it would prevent a vacancy; and concluded by ſaying, he did not conceive the arguments in favor of biennial elections well founded.

WEDNESDAY, January 16.

The 2d part of the 2d ſection of the firſt article, was read at the table----a deſultory converſation enſued on the mode of conducting the diſcuſſion; it was again agreed, that in the debate on any paragraph gentlemen might diſcuſs any other part they might ſuppoſe had relation to that under conſideration.

Mr. Pierce (from Patridgefield) after reading the 4th ſection, wiſhed to know the opinion of gentlemen on it, as Congreſs appeared thereby to have a power to regulate the time, place and manner of holding elections. In reſpect to the manner, ſaid Mr. P. ſuppoſe the legiſlature of this ſtate ſhould preſcribe, that the choice of the fœderal repreſentatives be as that of governor, a majority of all the votes in the ſtate being neceſſary to make it ſuch, and Congreſs ſhould deem it an improper manner, and ſhould order that it be as practiſed in ſeveral of the ſouthern ſtates, where the higheſt number of votes make a choice, have they not power by this ſection ſo to do? Again, as to the place, continues Mr. P. may not Congreſs direct that the election for Maſſachuſetts ſhall be held in Boſton? And if ſo, it is poſſible that previous to the election, a number of electors may meet, agree upon the eight delegates, and propoſe the ſame to a few towns in the vicinity, who, agreeing in ſentiment, may meet on the day of election, and carry their liſt by a major vote. He did not, he ſaid, ſay that this would be the caſe: but he wiſhed to know whether it was not a poſſible one. As the fœderal repreſentatives, who are to form the democratical part of the general government, are to be a check on the repreſentatives of the ſovereignty, the ſenate, he thought the utmoſt caution ought to bo uſed, to have their elections as free as poſſible. He obſerved, that as men have been ever fond of power, we muſt ſuppoſe they ever will continue ſo---and concluded by obſerving that our caution ought in the preſent caſe to be greater----as by the propoſed conſtitution no qualification of property was required in a repreſentative---and it might be in the power of ſome people thereby to chooſe a bankrupt for the repreſentative, in order to give ſuch repreſentative employment, or that he might make laws favorable to ſuch a deſcription of people.

General Porter (from Hadley) endeavoured to obviate the objections of Mr. Pierce, by ſhewing the almoſt impoſſibility of Congreſs making a law, whereby eight men could be elected as Mr. Pierce had ſuppoſed---and he thought it equally impoſſible for the people to chooſe a perſon to take care of their property, who had none himſelf.

Mr. Biſhop roſe and obſerved, that by the 4th ſection Congreſs would be enabled to controul the elections of repreſentatives: It has been ſaid, ſays he, that this power was given, in order that refractory ſtates may be made to do their duty: But, if ſo, ſir, why was it not ſo mentioned? If that was the intention, he aſked why the clauſe did not run thus. "The times, places and manner of holding elections for ſenators and repreſentatives, ſhall be preſcribed in each ſtate by the legiſlature thereof; but" if any ſtate ſhall refuſe or neglect ſo to do, "Congreſs may," &c. This, he ſaid, would admit of no prevarication. I am, ſaid Mr. B. for giving Congreſs as much power as poſſible.---It has been ſaid, Mr. Preſident, that the conduct of Rhode-Iſland, in recalling its delegates from Congreſs, has demonſtrated the neceſſity of ſuch a power being lodged in Congreſs. I have been informed, by people belonging to Rhode-Iſland, ſir, that that ſtate never has recalled its delegates from Congreſs---I do not believe it has---and I call on the gentleman who mentioned it to authenticate the fact.

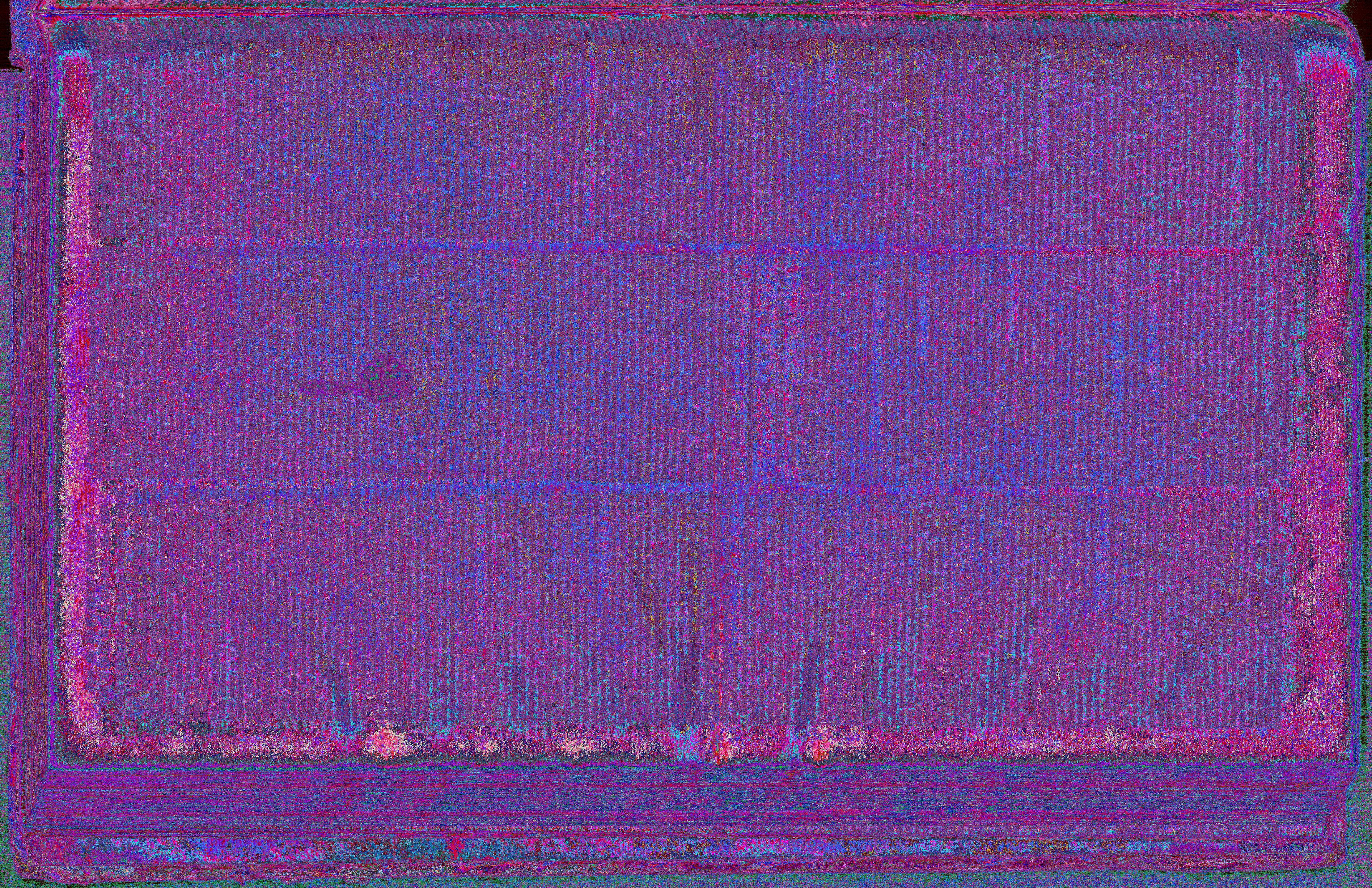
The Hon. Mr. King roſe, and aſſured the convention that the ſtate of Rhode-Iſland did by a ſolemn reſolution ſome time ſince recall its delegates from Congreſs.

The Hon. Mr. Gorham confirmed what Mr. King had ſaid, and added, that during the ſeſſion of the fœderal convention, when ſeven ſtates only were repreſented in Congreſs, application was made by two companies for the purchaſe of lands, the ſale of which would have ſunk ſeven or eight millions of dollars of the continental debt, and that moſt preſſing letters were ſent to Rhode-Iſland to ſend on its delegates, but that ſtate refuſed---the conſequence was, the contract could not then be made.

Mr. Biſhop confeſſed himſelf convinced of the fact. He proceeded to obſerve, that if the ſtates ſhall refuſe to do their duty, then let the power be given to Congreſs to oblige them to do it.---But if they do their duty, Congreſs ought not to have a power to controul elections. In uncontrouled repreſentation, ſays Mr. B. lies the ſecurity of freedom:---And he thought by this clauſe, that that freedom was ſported with.---In fact, ſays he, the moment we give Congreſs this power, the liberties of the yeomanry of this country are at an end. But he truſted they would never give it---and he felt a conſolation in the reflection.

The Honorable Mr. Strong followed Mr. Biſhop-----and pointed out the neceſſity there is for the fourth ſection.-----The power, ſays he, to regulate the elections of our fœderal repreſentatives muſt be lodged ſomewhere-----I know of but two bodies wherein it can be lodged; the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates; and the general Congreſs. If the legiſlative bodies

[*Turn to the fourth Page.*]



nia; the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga, the alliance with France and Holland, and the war of Britain with Spain, had all taken place; the armed neutrality, that curb of the Britiſh navy, had been formed before the articles of confederation were acceded to by the ſtate of Maryland. Effects then are aſcribed by the addreſſers to *a weak and inefficient fœderal conſtitution*, which were owing to *the proweſs* of America, *the blunders* of her enemies, the numbers and *exertions* of her allies, and THE BLESSING OF HEAVEN UPON HER ARMS.

The minority of the convention aſſert in their addreſs, that the legiſlatures of twelve ſtates complied with the recommendation of Congreſs for calling a Convention ſo haſtily, as not to conſult their conſtituents. The report of the Convention, which met at Annapolis in September 1785, on which the motion of Virginia and the recommendation of Congreſs were founded, was made in September, during the ſeſſion of the Aſſembly of Pennſylvania, and was publiſhed throughout the Union before the end of October of that year. The citizens of the United States and all their repreſentatives had ample time to conſult and determine on a meaſure, of which the addreſſers ſay the neceſſity was admitted by all. Pennſylvania was among the firſt to appoint, and ſhe did it by an act of her new legiſlature in the month of December following; and it is worthy of remark, that a number of the principal members of this minority concurred in the meaſure.

The doors of the Fœderal Convention, ſay they, were kept ſhut. When you conſider the Convention in its true light, as *a mere Council of Adviſement*, without power to legiſlate, ſitting to deviſe a plan for the better formation of the fœderal and ſtate governments, and for the people themſelves, and that they unanimouſly determined the plan ought to be openly publiſhed for the conſideration of all, you will not deem the ſhutting of the doors an improper meaſure. It is the uniform rule of every body of the nature of a council, in the freeſt governments. Would it have been proper for the enemies of America to hear every weakneſs of our country feelingly lamented by a WASHINGTON, or blazoned by a Luther Martin. You are are told by the Minority, that *a reſolution* was propoſed to the Aſſembly of Pennſylvania for calling a convention to be elected *in ten days*. This they ſay "*a minority oppoſed, but finding it could not be prevented, that they abſented themſelves from the houſe.*" This ſtatement is really not true; for there was not one reſolution only, but a ſet of five, propoſed, which, by agreement, were to be taken up diſtinctly. The two firſt reſolutions, including generally the call of a convention, and fixing the places, manner and officers to conduct the election, were debated and duly carried by 43 againſt 19. The Houſe poſtponed the conſideration of the 3d, 4th and 5th reſolutions till the afternoon, by regularly adjourning. In the afternoon, when the 3d reſolution (which did not name *a time only ten days diſtant for all the ſtate*, but eleven days for a part of the ſtate, and twenty-four days for the remainder) came on, it was then the 3d reſolution would have become, for the firſt time, the ſubject of debate, the minority of 19 ſeceded. It appears therefore they have ſtated the time untruly, and that, though they ſay the *minority offered every argument in their power* to oppoſe reſolutions fixing the election of the convention at ten days diſtance, they never ſpoke on the ſubject of the time, nor even attended the debate when they knew it would come on, but declined to execute their public duty, not chuſing to acquieſce in the conſtitutional authority of the majority.

They give you to underſtand, that the queſtion for calling a Convention was *depending* at the time of their ſeceſſion, and that it was after the members were carried to the Houſe, that the reſolution for the call was compleated. This was not the caſe; for the journals of the Houſe will prove that the reſolution for calling a Convention was duly carried in the preſence of the whole Legiſlature, ſix abſentees excepted, the diviſion being 43 to 19 in the morning of the 28th September. The minority firſt abſented themſelves (after regular adjournment to that hour) at four o'clock in the afternoon of the ſame day.

Without treſpaſſing longer on your time, I ſhall cloſe this paper, and with it the examination of the introduction to the addreſs, truſting that you are now better able to judge of the value of the political principles of the addreſſers, and of the temper and views with which they have written.

A PENNSYLVANIAN.

AUGUSTA, January 5.

We have the pleaſure to announce to the public, that on Wedneſday laſt the Convention of this State unanimouſly ratified the Federal Conſtitution in the words following, viz.

STATE OF GEORGIA.
IN CONVENTION.

WEDNESDAY, *January* 2, 1788.

WE, the Delegates of the people of the State of Georgia, in Convention met, having taking into our ſerious conſideration the Fœderal Conſtitution, agreed upon and propoſed by the Deputies of the United States in General Convention, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the 17th day of September, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven, have aſſented to, ratified and adopted, and by theſe preſents do, in the name and by virtue of the powers and authority to us given by the people of the ſaid State for that purpoſe, for and in behalf of ourſelves and our Conſtituents, fully and entirely aſſent to, ratify and adopt the ſaid Conſtitution, which is hereunto annexed under the great ſeal of the ſaid State.

DONE in Convention, at Auguſta, in the ſaid State, on the ſecond day of January, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-eight, and of the independence of the United States the twelfth.

BOSTON *February* 4.

A Copy of AMENDMENTS ſubmitted to the Convention by his Excellency the Governor, who, on Wedneſday laſt, after a long and painful indiſpoſition, took the Chair, as Preſident of that honorable Body, now ſitting in this town, and on Thurſday forenoon publicly communicated his intention of making a propoſition in the afternoon on the important ſubject before them. The houſe was uncommonly crouded in conſequence, and the moſt profound ſilence was obſerved, while His Excellency was delivering his ſhort and elegant ſpeech to introduce this important matter. The feeble health of His Excellency, the ardent expectation of perſons of every deſcription, and the uncertainty prevailing as to the nature of the propoſition to be made, conſpired to render the ſcene as intereſting and affecting as poſſible. The following is the propoſition ſubmitted:

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN CONVENTION of the Delegates of the People of the Commonwealth of MASSACHUSETTS. 1788.

THE Convention, having impartially diſcuſſed and fully conſidered the Conſtitution of the United States of America, reported to Congreſs by the Convention of Delegates from the United States of America, and ſubmitted to us by a reſolution of the General Court of the ſaid commonwealth, paſſed the 25th day of October laſt paſt; and acknowledging with grateful hearts the goodneſs of the Supreme Ruler of the Univerſe, in affording the people of the United States, in the courſe of his Providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peaceably, without fraud or ſurprize, of entering into an explicit and ſolemn compact with each other, by aſſenting to and ratifying a new conſtitution, in order to form a more perfect union, eſtabliſh juſtice, inſure domeſtic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and ſecure the bleſſings of liberty to themſelves and their poſterity; do, in the name and in behalf of the Commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts, *aſſent to* and *ratify* the ſaid *Conſtitution of the United States of America.*

And as it is the opinion of this Convention, that certain amendments and alterations in the ſaid Conſtitution would remove the fears and quiet the apprehenſions of many of the good people of this Commonwealth, and more eſpecially guard againſt an undue adminiſtration of the fœderal government; the Convention do therefore recommend that the following alterations and proviſions be introduced into the ſaid Conſtitution:

Firſt, That it be explicitly declared, that all powers not expreſly delegated to Congreſs, are reſerved to the ſeveral ſtates, to be by them exerciſed.

Secondly, That there ſhall be one repreſentative to every thirty thouſand perſons, until the whole number of repreſentatives amount to

Thirdly, That Congreſs do not exerciſe the power veſted in them by the 4th ſect. of 1ſt art. but in caſes where a State ſhall neglect or refuſe to make adequate proviſion for an equal repreſentation of the people, agreeably to this Conſtitution.

Fourthly, That Congreſs do not lay direct taxes but when the monies ariſing from the impoſt and exciſe are inſufficient for the public exigencies.

Fifthly, That Congreſs erect no company of merchants, with excluſive advantages of commerce.

Sixthly, That no perſon ſhall be tried for any crime by which he may incur an infamous puniſhment, or loſs of life, until he be firſt indicted by a grand jury, except in ſuch caſes as may ariſe in the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

Seventhly, The Supreme Judicial Fœderal Court ſhall have no juriſdiction of cauſes between citizens of different ſtates, unleſs the matter in diſpute be of the value of dollars at leaſt.

Eighthly, In civil actions, between citizens of different ſtates, every iſſue of fact ariſing in actions at common law may be tried by a jury, if the parties, or either of them, requeſt it.

Ninthly, That the words "without the conſent of Congreſs," in the laſt paragraph in the ninth ſection of the firſt article, be ſtruck out.

AND the Convention do, in the name and in behalf of the people of this Commonwealth, enjoin it upon their repreſentatives in Congreſs, at all times, until the alterations and proviſions aforeſaid have been conſidered, agreeably to the fifth article of the ſaid Conſtitution, to exert all their influence, and uſe all reaſonable and legal methods to obtain a ratification of the ſaid alterations and proviſions, in ſuch manner as is provided in ſaid article.

And that the United States in Congreſs aſſembled may have due notice of the aſſent and ratification of ſaid Conſtitution by this Convention,

It is RESOLVED, That the aſſent and ratification aforeſaid be engroſſed on parchment, together with the recommendation and injunction aforeſaid, and with this reſolution, and that his Excellency JOHN HANCOCK, Eſquire, Preſident, and the Honorable WILLIAM CUSHING, Eſquire, Vice-Preſident of this Convention, tranſmit the ſame, counterſigned by the Secretary of the Convention, under their hands and ſeals, to the United States in Congreſs aſſembled.

On Thurſday laſt, A. M. the hon. Convention finiſhed the diſcuſſion of the Fœderal Conſtitution by paragraphs, on which Mr. Parſons moved, "That this Convention do aſſent to and ratify the Conſtitution of the United States of America, propoſed by the Fœderal Convention." And the conſideration of the motion immediately commenced. In the afternoon his excellency the Preſident communicated the above propoſitions, which were under conſideration Friday and Saturday.

Friday laſt, on motion, the hon. Convention voted, that the final deciſion on the queſtion to accept or reject the Conſtitution in debate be not taken until Tueſday next.

Yeſterday a committee of the hon. Convention, conſiſting of two members from each county, ſat at the Repreſentatives chamber, to conſider of and amend the above propoſitions, and make report.

It is with pleaſure we inſert the following paragraph of a letter received yeſterday by Mr. BRECK, from the Right Honorable the MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

"I have written to requeſt you to pay a ſum of money on my account to the unhappy ſufferers by the late fire at Boſton, but am fearful I committed a miſtake, by uſing the word TWO inſtead of THREE Hundred Guineas; if ſo, you will oblige me by correcting that error, and paying the additional ſum."

NEW-YORK, February 8.

To the honor of the minority in the State Convention of Connecticut, it ought to be publicly known, that they, (unlike the obſtinate and unprincipled minority of Pennſylvania) declare, generally, they are determined to abide by the juſt republican principle of ſubmitting to the majority---that they were treated with the utmoſt candor and politeneſs through the whole diſcuſſion---that they conſider the Conſtitution as their Conſtitution---and that among their conſtituents they ſhould inculcate the ſame ſentiments.

On the 31ſt ult. the houſe of Aſſembly agreed that a convention ſhould be called, which was carried by a majority of two, and on the 1ſt of February the Senate concurred by a majority of three. The election to take place on the third Tueſday of April, the ſame number to be elected as for the houſe of aſſembly, and by the ſame rules of procedure; and that the ſaid delegates, ſo to be choſen, do meet in convention, at Poughkeepſie, on the 17th day of June next.

The ſtate of South Carolina has reſolved, that the proceedings of the fœderal convention "be ſubmitted to a convention of the people of the ſtate, for their full and free inveſtigation and deciſion." Their election of delegates is to be on the 11th and 12th of April, and the convention are to meet on the 12th of May in Charleſton.

CHARLESTON, *(South-Carolina) Jan.* 22.
HOUSE OF SENATE.

Extract from the Minutes, January 14, 1788.

Reſolved unanimouſly.

THAT the thanks of this houſe be given to the delegates of this ſtate in the convention holden laſt year at the city of Philadelphia, for their great attention to, and faithful diſcharge of the duties of their appointment.

Ordered, That Mr. Preſident do acquaint the delegates therewith.

Mr. Preſident reported to the houſe, that he had, in obedience to their commands, tranſmitted by letter the unanimous thanks of the houſe to the delegates of this ſtate, for their great attention to, and faithful diſcharge of the duties of their appointment in the fœderal convention, held laſt year at Philadelphia, and that he had received from thoſe delegates letters in anſwer thereto.

Ordered, That the letter addreſſed by Mr. Preſident, tranſmitting the thanks of this houſe to the delegates of this ſtate, in the late convention, held at Philadelphia, together with their anſwers, be read, and entered on the journals.

PHILADELPHIA, *February* 13.

Tueſday next is the Day appointed for the Meeting of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of this State.

A correſpondent, under the ſignature of A Citizen of the United States, *ſays*---"*It is curious to obſerve the difference and the contrariety of the objections made againſt the new conſtitution. His Excellency Governor Randolph urges the equality of ſuffrage in the ſenate as his principal objection---Mr. Martin of Maryland inveighs with great bitterneſs againſt the inequality of ſuffrage in the houſe of repreſentatives---Mr. Maſon appears much mortified that his conſtitutional council was not incorporated in the plan---Mr. Gerry complains that the rights of election are not properly ſecured, nor an adequate proviſion for the repreſentation of the people---Mr. Lanſing and Mr. Yates remonſtrate againſt any ſyſtem that has the moſt feeble trait of a conſolidated Government---Mr. R. H. Lee and other gentlemen of the ſouthern ſtates object that commercial regulations will be under the undue controul of the eaſtern ſtates----the inhabitants of the latter complain of the unequal burthen of an impoſt, of which the ſouthern ſtates muſt pay but very little from the nature of their population---In the middle ſtates the clamor of oppoſition has been from the want of a bill of rights----Beſides theſe, the commercial ſtates object to parting with their commercial revenues; while the non-importing ſtates complain of being tributary to the others.----Notwithſtanding theſe various objections, all who urge them acknowledge the merit of the new ſyſtem in other points, and frequently in thoſe parts oppoſed by others. Does not all this tend to produce the moſt decided conviction of the difficulties that were encountered by the late fœderal convention, and the ſpirit of conciliation manifeſted in the plan they have propoſed? Does it not equally demonſtrate the utter impoſſibility of another general convention, choſen by a people ſo agitated, and ſo divided, agreeing upon any general ſyſtem? And is it not doubtful, that, after ſuch experience, characters of eminence and ability could be found to undertake the taſk? As ſuch then muſt be the concluſion of every thinking man, he muſt deprecate the wretch with execrations of tenfold horror, who ſhould dare to ſuggeſt means of violence to reconcile ſuch jarring opinions, and to endeavor to involve this peaceful country in the horrors of inteſtine war.*"

The adoption of the new Conſtitution for the United States by an *unanimous* Reſolution of the Convention of Georgia is particularly ſatisfactory to the friends of the propoſed government in this ſtate, as the conſtitution of that commonwealth, like ours, veſts all legiſlative power in a ſingle houſe. It may now be fairly inferred, that the Minority of the Pennſylvania convention are the only body of men in the United States who would object to the new government, becauſe it divides the powers of legiſlation between a firſt and ſecond houſe.

It is remarked with pleaſure, that the unanimous vote of thanks to their deputies in convention, reſolved on by the Senate of South-Carolina, is an happy omen of its adoption by that valuable and flouriſhing ſtate.

What ſhall we ſay, obſerves a correſpondent, to the conduct of the Minority in the Aſſembly and Senate of New-York, who, after having four months to reflect upon the propoſed conſtitution, yet deſired to defer the ſubmiſſion of that important matter to the people. It is bold conduct, thus early after a ſtruggle for liberty, for their new rulers to attempt to reſtrain the people from determining upon their own affairs.

While twelve legiſlatures have ſubmitted the propoſed conſtitution to the people, and the paper money diſtrict of Little Compton in Rhode-Iſland have inſtructed their repreſentatives to endeavor to procure a convention; while too the conventions of all the five ſtates that have determined the queſtion have adopted the government, and the approbation of the ſixth is abſolutely certain, it is with infinite ſatisfaction we obſerve that not a ſingle town meeting or public body, but the contemptible and infamous Majority of Rhode Iſland, have ſhewn a mark of diſapprobation. It is an unanimity moſt honorable to America---a virtue, which will prove its own reward.

Philadelphia, Feb. 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to ſale, by public vendue, at the old Coffee-houſe, in the city of Philadelphia, on Friday, the 22d inſtant, at 6 o'clock in the evening, a certain two ſtory Brick Meſſuage or Tenement, and Lot or Piece of Ground, thereunto belonging, ſituate in the diſtrict of Southwark, and county of Philadelphia, containing in breadth north and ſouth 18 feet, and in length or depth ------- bounded northward with ground late of Peter Widdefield, ſouthward with ground of Joſeph Donaldſon, weſtward with a 50 feet ſtreet (called Swanſon or Water-ſtreet) and eaſtward with the river Delaware, to the utmoſt extent into the ſaid river. Taken in execution as the property of Nathaniel Iriſh, and to be ſold, by

JOSEPH COWPERTHWAIT, Sheriff.

WANTS EMPLOYMENT,

Either in a COUNTING HOUSE or STORE,

A MIDDLE aged perſon, who can be well recommended, and capable of undertaking the above employment, having ſerved near 10 years in one of the firſt wholeſale houſes in London. A line left at the printers, directed for I. R. will be duly attended to.

TO BE SOLD,

A VALUABLE PLANTATION of 150 acres of good land, with large improvements, an old over ſhot griſt mill and oyl mill, 20 acres of watered meadow made, and 20 more may be made, ſituate in Bethel township, Tulpehocken rich ſettlement, in Berks county, about 24 miles weſt from Reading town.

Alſo a new griſt mill and ſaw mill, in Liken's valley, on Wioneſky creek, with the other improvements. The purchaſer may have 300, 600, or 1000 acres therewith of good land, ſituate in Berks county, about 40 miles from Reading.

Alſo 1200 acres of extraordinary land on Middle creek, a few miles below Sunbury, and near Suſquehanna, where 100 acres of watered meadow may be made, and a griſt mill and ſaw mills may be erected at a ſmall expence.

And 1800 acres on Lycoming creek, of rich good land, where large quantities of watered meadow may be made, and mills erected, a few miles above Samuel Wallis, Eſquire, and a number of ſmaller tracts of good land.

Alſo a valuable plantation of 250 acres, with large improvements, near Muſpillion landing, in Kent county, Delaware ſtate. For terms, enquire of the ſubſcriber, in Vine ſtreet, Philadelphia.

DANIEL WILLIAMS.

Alſo the beſt kind of BOULTING CLOTHS, CHEAP.

THE ſubſcriber, living in Path Valley, Franklin county, ſtate of Pennſylvania, has for ſale the following Tracts of Land, viz.

Three hundred and ſeventy-eight acres in the valley aforeſaid, being the place at preſent occupied by him; ſituate upon the weſt branch of Conegocheague creek, 3 miles from the ſtate road, 100 miles from Baltimore, 160 from Philadelphia; has the following improvements and advantages, viz. a convenient dwelling houſe, large barn, a merchant mill, with two pair of ſtones, one pair of which are French burrs, proven good; bolting works compleat, in a good neighbourhood for wheat, has a good run of country cuſtom and of merchant work, a ſaw mill in good repair, 150 acres cleared and under good fence, about 30 of which is meadow, 50 more of meadow may be made and watered by never failing ſtreams; and an orchard, conſiſting of 180 bearing fruit trees.

Two hundred and ſeventy acres joining the aforeſaid tract, one third whereof may be converted into meadow and watered, has the advantage of a good ſeat upon the creek aforeſaid, for any kind of heavy water works, and a good ſeat for a furnace, upon a conſtant lime-ſtone ſpring.

One hundred and fifty acres, ſituate 5 miles good road from the laſt deſcribed tract, contains a large quantity of iron ore, proved to be of ſuperior quality; the two laſt deſcribed tracts contain every natural conveniency for carrying on the iron buſineſs to advantage.

Five hundred acres in Bedford county, on both ſides of the ſtate road, at the eaſt ſide of Laurel hill, about 8 miles from the Glade ſettlement, known by the name of Jolly Place, 40 acres whereof are cleared, and only wants fencing to be in a ſtate for cultivation, has a good mill ſeat, and a mill is much wanted in the neighbourhood, about one third of this tract is meadow lands of the firſt quality, and is a good ſtand for a houſe of public entertainment. Clear patents and indiſputable titles will be given to the purchaſers, and time given for part of the purchaſe money, by

WILLIAM ELLIOT.

N. B. Mr. John Muſſer, of Lancaſter, can give a particular deſcription of the quality and value of the laſt deſcribed tract,

of the ſtates, who muſt be ſuppoſed to know at what time, and in what place and manner, the elections can beſt be held, ſhould ſo appoint them; it cannot be ſuppoſed that Congreſs, by the power granted by this ſection will alter them: But if the legiſlature of a ſtate ſhould refuſe to make ſuch regulations; the conſequence will be, that the repreſentatives will not be choſen, and the general government will be diſſolved. In ſuch caſe, can gentlemen ſay, that a power to remedy the evil is not neceſſary to be lodged ſomewhere? And where can it be lodged but in Congreſs? I will conſider its advantage in another reſpect; we know, ſir, that a negligence in the appointment of rulers, is the characteriſtick of all nations: in this ſtate, and ſince the eſtabliſhment of our preſent conſtitution, the firſt officers of government have been elected by leſs then one tenth part of the electors in the ſtate. We alſo know that our town-meetings, for the choice of officers, are generally attended by an inconſiderable part of the qualified voters. People attend ſo much to their private intereſt that they are apt to neglect this right. Nations have loſt their liberties by neglecting their priviledges; Conſequently Congreſs ought to have an interpoſing power to awaken the people, when thus negligent. Even ſuppoſing, Sir, the proviſional clauſe ſuggeſted by the worthy gentleman from Norton, ſhould be added; would not Congreſs then be the judges whether the elections in the ſeveral ſtates were conſtitutional and proper? If ſo, it will then ſtand on the ſame ground it now does; It appears evident that there muſt be a general power to regulate general elections. Gentleman have ſaid, the propoſed conſtitution was in ſome places ambiguous; I wiſh they would point out the particular inſtances of ambiguity; for my part I think the whole of it is expreſſed in the plain common language of mankind; If any parts are not ſo explicit as they could be; it cannot be attributed to any deſign, for I believe a great majority of the men who formed it were ſincere and honeſt men.

Mr. Biſhop ſaid the great difficulty with him was, that the power given by the 4th ſection was unlimited; and he did not yet ſee that any advantage would ariſe from its being ſo.

Mr. Cabot (of Berverly) not having ſpoke upon the queſtion of biennial elections of repreſentatives, begged leave to revert to that ſubject, ſo far as to add to what had been ſaid by others, that we ſhould conſider of the particular buſineſs which that body will be frequently called upon to tranſact, eſpecially in the way of revenue; we ſhould conſider that on a queſtion of ſupplies of money to ſupport a war, or purchaſe a treaty, it will be impoſſible for thoſe repreſentatives to judge of the expediency or inexpediency of ſuch ſupplies, until they ſhall have had time to become acquainted with the general ſyſtem of fœderal politics, in its connection or relation to foreign powers; becauſe upon the ſituation of thoſe muſt depend the propriety or impropriety of granting ſupplies: If to this be added a due attention to the eaſieſt way of raiſing ſuch ſupplies, it muſt appear, that biennial elections are as frequent as is conſiſtent with uſing the power of the repreſentatives, for the benefit of their conſtituents.

Mr. C. then turned to the 4th ſection now under debate, and ſaid; it gives me no pain to ſee the anxiety of different gentlemen concerning the paragraph under conſideration, as it evidences a conviction in their minds of what I believe to be true, that a free and equal repreſentation is the beſt, if not the only, foundation upon which a free government can be built, and conſequently that the greateſt care ſhould be taken in laying it. I am, Sir, one of the people; ſuch I ſhall continue, and with their feelings I hold "that the right of electing perſons to repreſent the people in the fœderal government is an important and ſacred right." The opinions that have been offered upon the manner in which the exerciſe of this right is provide for by the 4th ſection, ſatisfies me that we are all ſolicituous for the ſame end, and we only differ as to the means of attaining it, and for my own part, I confeſs that I prize the 4th ſection as highly as any in the conſtitution: Becauſe I conſider the democratic branch of the national government, the branch choſen immediately by the people, as intended to be a check on the fœderal branch, which latter is not an immediate repreſentation of the people of America, and is not choſen by them, but is a repreſentation of the ſovereignty of the individual ſtates, and its members, delegated by the ſeveral ſtate legiſlatures, and if the ſtate legiſlatures are ſuffered to regulate concluſively the elections of the democratic branch, they may by ſuch an interference firſt weaken, and at laſt deſtroy that check; they may at firſt diminiſh, and finally annihilate that controul of the general government, which the people ought always to have through their immediate repreſentatives, as one of the people, therefore, I repeat that in my mind the 4th ſection is to be as highly prized as any in the conſtitution.

Mr. Parſons contended for the veſting in Congreſs the powers contained in the 4th ſection, not only as thoſe powers were neceſſary for preſerving the union, but alſo for ſecuring to the people their equal rights of election. He conſidered the ſubject very fully, but we are able to give our readers very imperfectly the heads of his ſpeech. In the Congreſs, not only the ſovereignty of the ſtates are repreſented in the ſenate, but to balance their power, and to give the people a ſuitable and efficient check upon them, the fœderal repreſentatives are introduced into Congreſs. The legiſlature of the ſeveral ſtates are the conſtitutents of the ſenate, and the people are the conſtituents of the repreſentatives. Theſe two branches, therefore, have different conſtituents, and as they are deſigned as mutual checks upon each other, and to balance the legiſlative powers, there will be frequent ſtruggles and contentions between them—The ſenate will wiſh to controul, depreſs and render inefficient, the repreſentatives: The ſame diſpoſition in the repreſentatives towards the ſenate, will produce the like exertions on their part. The ſenate will call upon their conſtituents, the legiſlatures, for aid. The repreſentatives will look up to the people for ſupport. If, therefore, the power of making and altering the regulations defined in this ſection, are veſted abſolutely in the legiſlature, the repreſentatives will very ſoon be reduced to an undue dependance upon the ſenate, becauſe the power of influencing and controuling the elections of the repreſentatives of the people will be exerted without controul by the conſtituents of the ſenators. He further obſerved, that there was much leſs danger in truſting theſe powers in Congreſs, than in the ſtate legiſlatures. For if the fœderal repreſentatives wiſhed to introduce ſuch regulations as would ſecure to them their places, and a continuance in office, the fœderal ſenate would never conſent, becauſe it would increaſe the influence and check of the repreſentatives; and on the other hand, if the ſenate were aiming at regulations to increaſe their own influenee by depreſſing the repreſentatives, the conſent of the latter never would be obtained, and no other regulations would ever obtain the conſent of both branches of the legiſlature, but ſuch as did not affect their mutual rights, and the balance of government, and thoſe regulations would be for the benefit of the people. But a ſtate legiſlature, under the influence of their ſenators, who would have their fulleſt confidence, or under the influence of ambitious or popular characters, or in times of popular commotion, and when faction and party ſpirit run high, would introduce ſuch regulations as would render the rights of the people inſecure and of little value. They might make an unequal and partial diviſion of the ſtate into diſtricts for the election of repreſentatives, or they might even diſqualify one third of the electors. Without theſe powers in Congreſs, the people can have no remedy: But the 4th ſection provides a remedy—A controuling power in a legiſlature, compoſed of ſenators and repreſentatives of twelve ſtates, without the influence of our commotions and factions, who will hear impartially, and preſerve and reſtore to the people their equal and ſacred rights of election. Perhaps it then will be objected, that from the ſuppoſed oppoſition of intereſts in the fœderal legiſlature, they may never agree upon any regulations; but regulations neceſſary for the intereſts of the people can never be oppoſed to the intereſts of either of the branches of the fœderal legiſlature, becauſe the intereſt, of the people require that the mutual powers of that legiſlature ſhould be preſerved unimpaired, in order to balance the government. Indeed, if the Congreſs could never agree on any regulations, then certainly no objection to the 4th ſection can remain, for the regulations introduced by the ſtate legiſlatures will be the governing rule of elections, until Congreſs can agree upon alterations.

Mr. Wedgery inſiſted that we had a right to be jealous of our rulers, who ought never to have a power which they could abuſe. The 4th ſection ought to have gone further, it ought to have had the proviſion in it mentioned by Mr. Biſhop, there would then be a mutual check, and he ſtill wiſhed it to be further explained.

The hon. Mr. White ſaid we ought to be jealous of rulers. All the godly men we read of have failed, nay, he would not truſt a "flock of Moſeſes," if we give up the ſection ſays he, that none ſhould be electors but thoſe worth 50 or an 100l. ſterling, cannot they do it. Yes, ſays he, they can and if any lawyer (alluding to Mr. Parſons) can beat me out of it, I will give him 10 guineas.

Col. Jones (of Boſton) thought, by this power to regulate elections, Congreſs might keep themſelves in to all duration.

The Rev. Mr. Perley wiſhed Mr. Gerry might be aſked ſome queſtions on this ſection. (But Mr. Gerry was not in the houſe.)

Mr. Jones (of Briſtol) ſaid it was not right to argue the poſſibility of the abuſe of any meaſure, againſt its adoption. The power granted to Congreſs by the 4th ſection, ſays he, is a neceſſary power, it will provide againſt negligence and dangerous deſigns. The ſenators and repreſentatives of this ſtate, Mr. Preſident, are now choſen by a ſmall number of electors, and it is likely we ſhall grow equally as negligent of our fœderal elections; or, Sir, a ſtate may refuſe to ſend to Congreſs its repreſentatives, as Rhode Iſland has done. Thus we ſee its neceſſity. To ſay that the power may be abuſed——is ſaying what will apply to all power, The fœderal repreſentatives will repreſent the people—they will be the people—and it is not probable they will abuſe themſelves. Mr J. concluded with repeating, that the arguments againſt this power could be urged againſt any power whatever.

Dr. Jarvis. Many gentlemen have inferred from the rights of regulating elections, by the 4th ſection being inveſted in the fœderal head, that the powers of wreſting this eſſential priviledge from the people would be equally delegated: But it appeared to him, he ſaid, that there is a very material diſtinction in the two caſes——for however poſſible it may be that this controuling authority may be abuſed, it by no means followed, that Congreſs in any ſituation could ſtrip the people of their right to a direct repreſentation——if he could believe in this he ſhould readily join in ſentiment with gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe, that this ſection alone ſhould be a ſufficient objection to the conſtitution itſelf. The right of election, founded on the principle of equality, was, he ſaid, the baſis on which the whole ſuperſtructure was erected; this right was inherent in the people. It was unalienable in its nature, and it could not be deſtroyed without preſuming a power to ſubvert the conſtitution of which this was the principle, and by recuring to the 2d ſection, it would appear that "repreſentatives and direct taxation ſhall be apportioned among the ſeveral ſtates according to their reſpective numbers:" it equally appeared that 30,000 inhabitants were entitled to ſend a repreſentative, and that wherever this number was found they would have a right to be repreſented in the fœderal legiſlature: If it was argued that Congreſs might abuſe their power, and by varying the places of election, diſtreſs the people, it could only be obſerved, that ſuch a wanton abuſe could not be ſuppoſed: But if it could go to the annihilation of the right he contended the people would not ſubmit——He conſidered the conſtitution as an elective democracy, in which the ſovereignty ſtill reſted in the people, and he by no means could believe that this article was ſo alarming in its nature, or dangerous in its tendency, as many gentlemen had ſuppoſed.

Mr. Holmes, in reply to Mr. Jarvis, ſaid, the worthy gentlemen's ſuperſtructure muſt fall to the ground, for the conſtitution does not provide that every 30,000 ſhall ſend a repreſentative, but that it ſhall not exceed one for every 30,000.

(To be continued.)

Whereas the PARTNERSHIP of

David and Matthew Duncan

Was DISSOLVED on the 1ſt day of October laſt, ALL Perſons INDEBTED to, or who have DEMANDS on the SAME, are requeſted to ſettle with DAVID DUNCAN.

Philadelphia, Feb. 2, 1788. c t 3 m.

Pennſylvania Hoſpital Medical Library.

THE following BOOKS are miſſing. The Gentlemen who have them in poſſeſſion will oblige the Contributors, by returning them to WILLIAM GARDNER, Apothecary, at the Hoſpital.

Van Swieten's Commentaries, Vol. 7th.
Aſtruc on the Venereal Diſeaſe, Vol. 2d.
M'Quere's Elements of Chemiſtry, Vol. 1ſt.
Hoffman's Works, Vol. 5th.

By order of a Board of Managers,

1ſt Mo. 28, 1788. SAMUEL COATES, Clerk.

TO BE LETT,

A PLANTATION, with a large tract of banked meadow, ſituate in Glouceſter county, New-Jerſey, oppoſite to Cheſter. Any perſon, with a good capital, inclinable to take the above, may know the terms, by applying as the Printers will direct.

TO BE SOLD,

A LARGE two-ſtory Stone Dwelling-Houſe and Kitchen, and Lot or Piece of Ground, Situate on Germantown main ſtreet, above the market-houſe, being about 133 feet and 9 inches front, and 396 feet back: Having thereon a Tan-Yard with 32 Vats, Lime-Handlers, a Stone Bark and Mill-Houſe, Currying and Lime-Houſe, a good Spring with a Spring-Houſe and Pump, a large Copper Boiler, Barn, Waggon-houſe, Stables, Garden, &c. containing about an acre, and is known by the name of JONES's TAN-YARD.

Alſo a Tract or Piece of Land, ſituate back of the above premiſes, fronting on Benſel's-lane, leading to Schuylkill, very well improved, and having a conſiderable number of excellent Fruit-Trees.

Any perſon inclining to purchaſe the above premiſes, together or ſeparately, is deſired to apply to PETER LE BARBIER DUPLESSIS, Eſquire, in Cheſnut-ſtreet, near Third-ſtreet, or to JOSEPH FERREE.

N. B. An indiſputable title will be given for the above, as the mortgage will be previouſly diſcharged, and PENNSYLVANIA or JERSEY MONEY taken for half of the purchaſe money.

The above, if not ſold within a month from the date hereof, will be let. Enquire as above, where a number of Tracts of Land, patented or only warranted, may be had, at the moſt reaſonable price. Philadelphia, February 1, 1788.

Goſhen, Cheſter county, January 21, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Thurſday, the 14th day of February next, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, on the premiſes, A meſſuage, plantation and tract of land, ſituate in the township of Weſt-town, containing 91 acres more or leſs, bounded by lands of Aaron James, Joſhua Hoops and others; ſeized and taken in execution, as the eſtate of Iſaiah Hoops and John Brown, and to be ſold, by EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

Goſhen, Cheſter county, January 21, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public Sale, on Friday, the 15th day of February next, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, on the premiſes, A Meſſuage, Plantation and Tract of Land, ſituate in the Township of Williſtown, containing 253 acres more or leſs; bounded by lands of Stephen Davie, Samuel Evans and others; ſeized and taken in execution as the eſtate late of John Boggs, deceaſed, and to be ſold, by † EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

New-Caſtle, January 8, 1788.

For Sale by Public Auction,

THE real eſtate late of JOHN VAN GEZELL, deceaſed; ſituate in the town of New-Caſtle, in the Delaware ſtate, conſiſting of a Brick Meſſuage and Lot of Ground, where the ſaid deceaſed had lived, on the north-weſt ſide of Front or Water-ſtreet. A large unimproved Lot, adjacent to the aforeſaid meſſuage, on the ſouth-weſterly ſide thereof, extending from Front-ſtreet to the market ſquare. Two other Brick Meſſuages occupied together, and their Lots, extending into the river Delaware, now in the tenure of Gunning Bedford, Eſquire, the beſt ſituation in the town for erecting a wharff upon. One other Brick Meſſuage and Lot, on the ſouth-ſide of the ſtreet leading from the Court-houſe to the river, in the tenure of Mr. Yeates. One Frame Meſſuage and its Lot, in the tenure of Capt. Webb, adjoining the next preceding lot; and a graſs Lot, containing between 4 and 5 acres, lying on the back ſtreet of the ſaid town and the road leading thereout towards Chriſtiana bridge, in the tenure of Mr. Lyon. The ſale aforeſaid to be made by the ſubſcriber, as executor of the deceaſed, in purſuance of his laſt will, on Tueſday, the 19th of February next, in the town of New-Caſtle, for the payment of the deceaſed's debts; on which day his creditors or their agents are requeſted to attend, (as the executor is apprehenſive that the whole of the property of the ſaid deceaſed may not, in the preſent ſcarcity of caſh, ſell for ſufficient to pay the debts, unleſs a credit ſhall be given to the purchaſers for the greater part of the purchaſe monies, and this the principal creditors of the deceaſed ſhould aſſent unto.) All ſuch creditors as have not tranſmitted a ſtate of their demands to the executor, are requeſted ſo to do before the ſaid day of ſale, to enable him to adjuſt the ſame for due order of payment.

GEORGE READ.

Juſt Publiſhed, and to be Sold by
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*** This Book is highly eſteemed, and very neceſſary for gentlemen in the commiſſion of the peace; likewiſe for every other perſon, who would wiſh to be acquainted with the laws of the land we live in.

At the above Stores alſo may be had, juſt Publiſhed,

Newton's Deſſertations on the Prophecies, 2 vols. 20*ſ*.
Edwards's Hiſtory of Redemption, 10*ſ*.
Edwards on Religious Affections, 10*ſ*.

Eveſham township, Burlington county, Jan. 28, 1788.

THREE POUNDS Reward.

RAN away, this morning, from the ſubſcriber, an apprentice lad, named JOHN WHITECRAFT, about 19 years of age, of a ſandy complexion, freckled in the face; had on and took with him, a fuſtian coatee, jacket and overalls, a new round hat, a pair of woollen trowſers, two jackets, one nap, the other coarſe cloth of a light colour, two pair of ſtockings, one white, the other blue. Whoever takes up and ſecures ſaid apprentice, ſo that his maſter may get him again, ſhall have the above reward, paid by ‡ WILLIAM SHARP.

PHILADELPHIA: Printed by HALL and SELLERS, at the NEW-PRINTING OFFICE, near the MARKET.

FEBRUARY, 1788. THE NUMB. 3012.

PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1788.

MONTMORIN.

THIS TOWN, laid out at the solicitation of several Gentlemen, is delightfully situated on the north bank of the Ohio river, on a beautiful plain that is not liable to be overflown, in a healthy and fertile country, about 18 miles below Fort Pitt, on the road to Fort M'Intosh, in Westmoreland county, in the state of Pennsylvania, and at the ancient settlement formerly called Logstown, which was abandoned previous to the peace of 1763, where an extensive trade was carried on many years.

MONTMORIN commands an extensive view of the river; the soil is equal to any on the Ohio, and abounds in coal; the navigation from thence down the river is superior to that from Fort Pitt, as the water is at all seasons much deeper at this place, and where provisions, boats, &c. may in a little time be as well furnished. It is on the great communication or route from the eastern and middle states to the Muskingum, Miami and Kentucky settlements; as well as the Illinois, Mississippi, &c. and will probably become the new county seat: The great emigrations to the western country render it a very desirable spot, and afford a flattering prospect of its speedy establishment. The streets are spacious, being all 66 feet wide; except Great George, Washington, Hancock and Clinton-streets, which are 99 feet; the squares are divided into 20 lots, from 44 to 47 feet front, and 220 feet in depth, and all the lots are accommodated with lanes-- five squares, or 100 lots, as distinguished in the plan, will be vested in trustees for public use, and to accommodate schools and religious societies of every denomination. The town contains 740 lots, which will be numbered and arranged by draught, to prevent any kind of preference; and to facilitate the settlement, they will be sold at the moderate price of TEN DOLLARS each, to be paid on the delivery of certificates of purchase----Those who buy ten town lots, will be entitled to a five acre out lot, GRATIS.

The appropriation of the lots will be made under the superintendance or direction of the honorable Thomas M'Kean, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, Gen. Muhlenbergh and Hiester, Matthew Clarkson and Richard Bache, Esquires, on or before the first of May next; after which, on application, indisputable titles in fee simple, agreeably to the said appropriation, will be delivered gratis to the purchasers, their agents, or attorneys.---- Certificates for lots sold, and the plan of the town to be seen at the house of Mr. Levy Hollingsworth, Mr. Mark Wilcox, Mr. Thomas Bradford, and at the Coffee-House, Philadelphia; Mr. John Delafield, New-York; General Heister, Reading; John Hubley, Esq; Lancaster; Mr. Heckenvelder, Bethlehem; Major Isaac Craig, Fort Pitt; and Colonel Stephen Bayard, Elizabeth-town.

ISAAC MELCHER.

Philadelphia, September 1, 1787.

EXTRACT. *Page* 10, *Colonel Bouquet's Expedition* 1764, *Friday, October* 5. "In this day's march the army passed though Logstown, situated seventeen and a half miles fifty seven perches, by the path, from Fort Pitt. This place was noted before the last war, for the great trade carried on there by the English and French; but its inhabitants, Shawanese and Delawares, abandoned it in the year 1750. The lower town extended about 60 perches over a rich bottom to the foot of a low steep ridge; on the summit of which, near the declivity, stood the upper town, commanding a most agreeable prospect over the lower, and quite across the Ohio, which is about 500 yards wide here, and by its majestic easy current adds much to the beauty of the place. Proceeding beyond Logstown we passed through a fine country, &c."

*** Those who are desirous of further information respecting the soil and situation of Montmorin, are referred to Governor St. Clair, General Irwine, George Morgan and Matthew Clarkson, Esquires, or any other gentleman acquainted in the Western country.

Philadelphia, Feb. 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni exponas, to me directed, will be exposed to sale, by public vendue, at the old Coffee-House, in the city of Philadelphia, on Friday, the 22d instant, at 6 o'clock in the evening, a certain two story Brick Messuage or Tenement, and Lot or Piece of Ground, thereunto belonging, situate in the district of Southwark, and county of Philadelphia, containing in breadth north and south 18 feet, and in length or depth ------ bounded northward with ground late of Peter Widdefield, southward with ground of Joseph Donaldson, westward with a 50 feet street (called Swanson or Water-street) and eastward with the river Delaware, to the utmost extent into the said river. Taken in execution as the property of Nathaniel Irish, and to be sold, by JOSEPH COWPERTHWAIT, Sheriff.

THE subscriber, living in Path Valley, Franklin county, state of Pennsylvania, has for sale the following Tracts of Land, viz.

Three hundred and seventy-eight acres in the valley aforesaid, being the place at present occupied by him; situate upon the west branch of Conegocheague creek, 3 miles from the state road, 100 miles from Baltimore, 160 from Philadelphia; has the following improvements and advantages, viz. a convenient dwelling house, large barn, a merchant mill, with two pair of stones, one pair of which are French burrs, proven good; bolting works complear, in a good neighbourhood for wheat, has a good run of country custom and of merchant work, a saw mill in good repair, 150 acres cleared and under good fence, about 30 of which is meadow, 50 more of meadow may be made and watered by never failing streams; and an orchard, consisting of 180 bearing fruit trees.

Two hundred and seventy acres joining the aforesaid tract, one third whereof may be converted into meadow and watered, has the advantage of a good seat upon the creek aforesaid, for any kind of heavy water works, and a good seat for a furnace, upon a constant lime-stone spring.

One hundred and fifty acres, situate 5 miles good road from the last described tract, contains a large quantity of iron ore, proved to be of superior quality; the two last described tracts contain every natural conveniency for carrying on the iron business to advantage.

Five hundred acres in Bedford county, on both sides of the state road, at the east side of Laurel hill, about 8 miles from the Glade settlement, known by the name of Jolly Place, 40 acres whereof are cleared, and only wants fencing to be in a state for cultivation, has a good mill seat, and a mill is much wanted in the neighbourhood, about one third of this tract is meadow lands of the first quality, and is a good stand for a house of public entertainment. Clear patents and indisputable titles will be given to the purchasers, and time given for part of the purchase money, by

†

WILLIAM ELLIOT.

N. B. Mr. John Musser, of Lancaster, can give a particular description of the quality and value of the last described tract.

From the NEW-YORK PACKET.

The FŒDERALIST, No. XV.

To the PEOPLE *of the State of* NEW-YORK.

IN the course of the preceding papers, I have endeavoured, my fellow citizens, to place before you in a clear and convincing light, the importance of union to your political safety and happiness. I have unfolded to you a complication of dangers to which you would be exposed should you permit that sacred knot which binds the people of America together to be severed or dissolved by ambition or by avarice, by jealousy or by misrepresentation. In the sequel of the inquiry, through which I propose to accompany you, the truths intended to be inculcated will receive further confirmation from facts and arguments hitherto unnoticed. If the road, over which you will still have to pass, should in some places appear to you tedious or irksome, you will recollect, that you are in quest of information on a subject the most momentous which can engage the attention of a free people: that the field through which you have to travel is in itself spacious, and that the difficulties of the journey have been unnecessarily increased by the magic with which sophistry has beset the way. It will be my aim to remove the obstacles to your progress in as compendious a manner as it can be done, without sacrificing utility to dispatch.

In pursuance of the plan, which I have laid down, for the discussion of the subject, the point next in order to be examined is the "insufficiency of the present confederation to the preservation of the union." It may perhaps be asked, what need is there of reasoning or proof to illustrate a position, which is not either controverted or doubted; to which the understandings and feelings of all classes of men assent; and which in substance is admitted by the opponents as well as by the friends of the new constitution?---It must in truth be acknowledged, that however these may differ in other respects, they in general appear to harmonise in this sentiment at least, that there are material imperfections in our national system, and that something is necessary to be done to rescue us from impending anarchy. The facts that support this opinion are no longer objects of speculation. They have forced themselves upon the sensibility of the people at large, and have at length extorted from those, whose mistaken policy has had the principal share in precipitating the extremity at which we are arrived, a reluctant confession of the reality of those defects in the scheme of our fœderal government, which have been long pointed out and regretted by the intelligent friends of the union.

We may indeed with propriety be said to have reached almost the last stage of national humiliation. There is scarcely any thing that can wound the pride, or degrade the character of an independent nation, which we do not experience. Are there engagements to the performance of which we are held by every tie respectable among men. These are the subjects of constant and unblushing violation. Do we owe debts to foreigners and to our own citizens, contracted in a time of imminent peril, for the preservation of our political existence? These remain without any proper or satisfactory provision for their discharge. Have we valuable territories and important posts in the possession of a foreign power, which by express stipulations ought long since to have been surrendered? These are still retained, to the prejudice of our interests not less than of our rights. Are we in a condition to resent or to repel the aggression? We have neither troops, nor treasury, nor government.* Are we even in a condition to remonstrate with dignity? The just imputations on our own faith, in respect to the same treaty, ought first to be removed. Are we entitled by nature and compact to a free participation in the navigation of the Mississippi? Spain excludes us from it. Is public credit an indispensable resource in time of public danger? We seem to have abandoned its cause as desperate and irretrievable. Is commerce of importance to national wealth? Ours is at the lowest point of declension. Is respectability in the eyes of foreign powers a safeguard against foreign encroachments? The imbecility of our government even forbids them to treat with us? Our ambassadors abroad are the mere pageants of mimic sovereignty. Is a violent and unnatural decrease in the value of land a symptom of national distress? The price of improved land in most parts of the country is much lower than can be accounted for by the quantity of waste land at market, and can only be fully explained by that want of private and public confidence, which are so alarmingly prevalent among all ranks, and which have a direct tendency to depreciate property of every kind. Is private credit the friend and patron of industry? That most useful kind which relates to borrowing and lending is reduced within the narrowest limits, and this still more from an opinion of insecurity than from the scarcity of money. To shorten an enumeration of particulars which can afford neither pleasure nor instruction, it may in general be demanded, what indication is there of national disorder, poverty and insignificance that could befal a community so peculiarly, blessed with natural advantages as we are, which does not form a part of the dark catalogue of our public misfortunes?

This is the melancholy situation, to which we have been brought by those very maxims and councils, which would now deter us from adopting the proposed constitution; and which, not content with having conducted us to the brink of a precipice, seem resolved to plunge us into the abyss that awaits us below. Here, my Countrymen, impelled by every motive that ought to influence an enlightened people, let us make a firm stand for our safety, our tranquility, our dignity, our reputation. Let us at last break the fatal charm which has too long seduced us from the paths of felicity and prosperity.

It is true, as has been before observed, that facts too stubborn to be resisted have produced a species of general assent to the abstract proposition, that there exist material defects in our national system; but the usefulness of the concession, on the part of the old adversaries of fœderal measures, is destroyed, by a strenuous opposition to a remedy, upon the only principles that can give it a chance of success. While they admit that the government of the United States is destitute of energy; they contend against conferring upon it those powers which are requisite to supply that energy: They seem still to aim at things repugnant and irreconcilable---at an augmentation of fœderal authority without a diminution of state authority---at sovereignty in the union and complete independence in the members. They still, in fine, seem to cherish with blind devotion the political monster of an *imperium in imperio*. This renders a full display of the principal defects of the confederation necessary, in order to shew, that the evils we experience do not proceed from minute or partial imperfections, but from fundamental errors in the structure of the building, which cannot be amended otherwise than by an alteration in the first principles and main pillars of the fabric.

The great and radical vice in the construction of the existing confederation is in the principle of LEGISLATION for STATES or GOVERNMENTS, in their CORPORATE or COLLECTIVE CAPACITIES, and as contradistinguished from the INDIVIDUALS of which they consist. Though this principle does not run through all the powers delegated to the union; yet it pervades and governs those on which the efficacy of the rest depends. Except as to the rule of apportionment, the United States have an indefinite discretion to make requisitions for men and money; but they have no authority to raise either by regulations extending to the individual citizens of America. The consequence of this is, that though in theory their resolutions concerning those objects are laws, constitutionally binding on the members of the union, yet in practice they are mere recommendations, which the states observe or disregard at their option.

It is a singular instance of the capriciousness of the human mind, that after all the admonitions we have had from experience on this head, there should still be found men, who object to the New Constitution for deviating from a principle which has been found the bane of the old; and which is in itself evidently incompatible with the idea of GOVERNMENT; a principle in short, which, if it is to be executed at all, must substitute the violent and sanguinary agency of the sword to the mild influence of the Magistracy.

There is nothing absurd or impracticable in the idea of a league or alliance between independent nations, for certain defined purposes precisely stated in a treaty; regulating all the details of time, place, circumstance and quantity; leaving nothing to future discretion; and depending for its execution on the good faith of the parties. Compacts of this kind exist among all civilized nations, subject to the usual vicissitudes of peace and war, of observance and non-observance, as the interests or passions of the contracting powers dictate. In the early part of the present century, there was an epidemical rage in Europe for this species of compacts, from which the politicians of the times fondly hoped for benefits which were never realised. With a view to establishing the equilibrium of power and the peace of that part of the world, all the resources of negotiation were exhausted, and triple and quadruple alliances were formed; but they were scarcely formed before they were broken, giving an instructive but afflictive lesson to mankind, how little dependence is to be placed on treaties which have no other sanction than the obligations of good faith, and which oppose general considerations of peace and justice to the impulse of any immediate interest and passion.

If the particular states in this country are disposed to stand in a similar relation to each other, and to drop the project of a general DISCRETIONARY SUPERINTENDENCE, the scheme would indeed be pernicious, and would entail upon us all the mischiefs that have been enumerated under the first head; but it would have the merit of being at least consistent and practicable. Abandoning all views towards a confederate government, this would bring us to a simple alliance offensive and defensive; and would place us in a situation to be alternately friends and enemies of each other, as our mutual jealousies and rivalships, nourished by the intrigues of foreign nations, should prescribe to us.

But if we are unwilling to be placed in this perilous situation; if we will still adhere to the design of a national government, or, which is the same thing, of a superintending power under the direction of a Common Council, we must resolve to incorporate into our plan those ingredients which may be considered as forming the characteristic difference between a league and a government; we must extend the authority of the union to the persons of the citizens,---the only proper objects of government.

Government implies the power of making laws. It is essential to the idea of a law, that it be attended with a sanction; or, in other words, a penalty or punishment for disobedience. If there be no penalty annexed to disobedience, the resolutions or commands which pretend to be laws will in fact amount to nothing more than advice or recommendation. This penalty, whatever it may be, can only be inflicted in two ways; by the agency of the courts and ministers of justice, or by military force; by the COERTION of the magistracy, or by the COERTION of arms. The first kind can evidently apply only to men---the last kind must of necessity be employed against bodies politic, or communities or states. It is evident, that there is no process of a court by which their observance of the laws can in the last resort be enforced. Sentences may be denounced against them for violations of their duty; but these sentences can only be carried into execution by the sword. In an association where the general authority is confined to the collective bodies of the communities that compose it, every breach of the laws must involve a state of war, and military execution must become the only instrument of civil obedience. Such a state of things can certainly not deserve the name of government, nor would any prudent man choose to commit his happiness to it.

There was a time when we were told that breaches, by the states, of the regulations of the fœderal authority were not to be expected---that a sense of common interest would preside over the conduct of the respective members, and would beget a full compliance with all the constitutional requisitions of the union. This language at the present day would appear as wild as a great part of what we now hear from the same quarter will be thought, when we shall have received further lessons from that best oracle of wisdom, experience. It at all times betrayed an ignorance of the true springs by which human conduct is actuated, and belied the original inducements to the establishment of civil power. Why has government been instituted at all? Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice, without constraint. Has it been found that bodies of men act with more rectitude or greater disinterestedness than individuals? The contrary of this has been inferred by all accurate observers of the conduct of mankind; and the inference is founded upon obvious reasons. Regard to reputation has a less active influence, when the infamy of a bad action is to be divided among a number, than when it is to fall singly upon one. A spirit of faction, which is apt to mingle its poison in the deliberations of all bodies of men, will often hurry the persons of whom they are composed into improprieties and excesses, for which they would blush in a private capacity.

In addition to all this, there is in the nature of sovereign power an impatience of controul, that disposes those who are invested with the exercise of it to look with an evil eye upon all external attempts to restrain or direct its operations. From this spirit it happens, that in every political association, which is formed upon the principles of uniting in a common interest a number of lesser sovereignties, there will be found a kind of excentric ten-

* *I mean for the union.*

dency in the ſubordinate inferior orbs, by the operation of which there will be a perpetual effort in each to fly off from the common center. This tendency is not difficult to be accounted for. It has its origin in the love of power. Power controuled or abridged is almoſt always the rival and enemy of that power by which it is controuled or abridged. This ſimple propoſition will teach us how little reaſon there is to expect, that the perſons, entruſted with the adminſtration of the affairs of the particular members of a confederacy, will at all times be ready, with perfect good humour, and an unbiaſſed regard to the public weal, to execute the reſolutions or decrees of the general authority. The reverſe of this reſults from the conſtitution of human nature.

If therefore the meaſures of the confederacy cannot be executed, without the intervention of the particular adminiſtrations, there will be little proſpect of their being executed at all. The rulers of the reſpective members, whether they have a conſtitutional right to do it or not, will undertake to judge of the propriety of the meaſures themſelves. They will conſider the conformity of the thing propoſed or required to their immediate intereſts or aims, the momentary conveniences or inconveniences that would attend its adoption. All this will be done; and in a ſpirit of intereſted and ſuſpicious ſcrutiny, without that knowledge of national circumſtances and reaſons of that, which is eſſential to a right judgment, and with that ſtrong predilection in favor of local objects, which can hardly fail to miſlead the deciſion. The ſame proceſs muſt be repeated in every member of which the body is conſtituted; and the execution of the plans, framed by the councils of the whole, will always fluctuate on the diſcretion of the ill informed and prejudiced opinion of every part. Thoſe who have been converſant in the proceedings of popular aſſemblies; who have ſeen how difficult it often is, when there is no exterior preſſure of circumſtances, to bring them to harmonious reſolutions on important points, will readily conceive how impoſſible it muſt be to induce a number of ſuch aſſemblies, deliberating at a diſtance from each other, at different times, and under different impreſſions, long to co-operate in the ſame views and purſuits.

In our caſe, the concurrence of thirteen diſtinct ſoverein wills is requiſite under the confederation to the compleat execution of every important meaſure, that proceeds from the Union. It has happened as was to have been foreſeen. The meaſures of the union have not been executed; and the delinquencies of the States have ſtep by ſtep matured themſelves to an extreme, which has at length arreſted all the wheels of the national government, and brought them to an awful ſtand. Congreſs at this time ſcarcely poſſeſs the means of keeping up the forms of adminiſtration; 'till the ſtates can have time to agree upon a more ſubſtantial ſubſtitute for the preſent ſhadow of a fœderal government. Things did not come to this deſperate extremity at once. The cauſes which have been ſpecified produced at firſt only unequal and diſproportionate degrees of compliance with the requiſitions of the Union. The greater deficiencies of ſome States furniſhed the pretext of example, and the temptation of intereſt to the complying, or to the leaſt delinquent States. Why ſhould we do more in proportion than thoſe who are embarked with us in the ſame political voyage? Why ſhould we conſent to bear more than our proper ſhare of the common burthen? Theſe were ſuggeſtions which human ſelfiſhneſs could not withſtand, and which even ſpeculative men, who looked forward to remote conſequences, could not, without heſitation, combat. Each State yielding to the perſuaſive voice of immediate intereſt and convenience has ſucceſſively withdrawn its ſupport, 'till the frail and tottering edifice ſeems ready to fall upon our heads, and to cruſh us beneath its ruins.

PUBLIUS.

NUMBER III.

To the CITIZENS of the UNITED STATES.

Friends and Countrymen,

THE firſt reaſon of diſſent given by the minority of Pennſylvania is, that a very extencive territory cannot be governed on the principles of freedom, otherwiſe than by *a confederation of republics*. Though I admit this to be true, yet I beg to be indulged with a few remarks upon their arguments and obſervations. They adduce the opinions of the moſt celebrated writers, to whom the modern improvements in government were unknown, and who had not the benefits of thoſe numerous and invaluable lights which have been thrown upon the ſubject by the diſcuſſions ariſing from the American cauſe. If it is admitted that the path to perfection in government was never before ſo brightly illuminated as at preſent, the honeſt and well informed opinions *of this period* muſt be as valuable as thoſe of the great men of *leſs enlightened* times. But the minority further tell us, that this opinion on the neceſſity of the confederated form for an extenſive territory is confirmed by *uniform experience*. So far is this acknowledged truth from being confirmed by uniform experience, that a confederation of *free* governments is perfectly a new caſe. We have not before us one aſcertained inſtance, ſince the beginning of the world, to demonſtrate the capacity of the confederated form to anſwer the purpoſes of juſt government. While, therefore, I agree, *from reaſon and the nature of human affairs*, that a confederated form of government is neceſſary to preſerve the peace, liberty and ſafety of America, I cannot admit that there is ſufficient weight in *the firſt*, or truth in *the ſecond*, argument adduced by the minority of our Convention. In juſtice to the honorable Mr. Wilſon, a limb of whoſe ſpeech they have diſſevered from the body, I beg leave to turn your attention to the ſpeech itſelf. 'Tis ſolid, ingenious, and comprehenſive, and worthy the peruſal of every American.

The minority diſſent, ſecondly, becauſe the powers veſted in Congreſs will, as they aſſert, neceſſarily "*abſorb and annihilate*" the legiſlative, executive and judicial powers of the ſeveral ſtates. From whence, they proceed to ſay, will ariſe a deſpotic government in theſe ſtates. As I have already admitted, as neceſſary to liberty, that our general government ſhould be *confederated*, ſo it is now incumbent on me to anſwer thoſe arguments which have been adduced to prove the propoſed conſtitution will *annihilate* the legiſlative, executive and judicial powers of the ſeveral ſtates. This I believe is the great ground, on which all the fears of the oppoſition reſt in Pennſylvania, and throughout the union.

In ſupport of their aſſertion, the addreſſers firſt obſerve, that Congreſs are veſted with a complete and unlimited command over the purſe of America. So far is this from being the caſe, that there is *but one* ſingle branch of revenue placed *out of the reach* of the ſtate legiſlatures---that ariſing from trade, which is the leaſt of all connected with liberty, as it is *extra territorial*, and requires no dangerous force to enſure its execution. But even on this the ſtate legiſlatures have a *complete check*, in the power of chuſing the Senators, whoſe voices are neceſſary to a commercial act. If the Fœderal Repreſentatives of the people bring forward a bill of this kind, tending to diminiſh the conſtitutional and due weight of the ſeparate governments, the Repreſentatives of the ſtate legiſlatures (the Senators) can ſay, *it ſhall not be enacted*; and this, moreover, will apply to every revenue law Congreſs ſhall attempt. Whence it appears, that Congreſs poſſeſs *not an unlimited*, but a *controulable*, power over the purſe; while no act of Congreſs nor of any other power, can prevent the ſtate legiſlatures from impoſing any duty, exciſe or tax upon any intra-territorial object, *provided the application of the money is to ſtate purpoſes*. But the ſeveral ſtates will poſſeſs more or leſs of *independent revenues and reſources*, to which the powers of Congreſs *cannot* be extended. They may tax ſtate offices, ſuch as thoſe of Prothonotaries, Regiſters of Wills, Sheriffs, County Treaſurers, &c. They will have fees for grants of lands, affixing public ſeals, marriage and tavern licences, &c. tolls on rivers, canals and roads, the income of public property, eſcheats, fines and forfeitures, confiſcations, quit-rents, ſales of lands, and many other things, with which the fœderal government cannot interfere, beſides *their abſolute and conſtitutional right to lay any internal tax, exciſe or duty whatſoever*.

It has been ſaid, that Congreſs can make the firſt call upon the people: but an oppoſite opinion appears to me more reaſonable, that the ſeveral ſtates can make the demand firſt, and in the way moſt pleaſing to the people, and thus, by *punctuality*, prevent the exerciſe of the power of direct taxation by the fœderal legiſlature: and here let us remember, that as the votes of the fœderal houſe of repreſentatives will be in proportion to the actual number of the people, ſo, in purſuance of the intereſts of the people, they will and can obſtruct *all unneceſſary direct taxes of the fœderal legiſlature*, ſo long as they find the ſtate governments punctual in the diſcharge of the neceſſary fœderal requiſitions. A rule will no doubt be early adopted, that Congreſs ſhall make up their eſtimates, and paſs their money laws, as long before the day of payment as poſſible, from which the ſtates, knowing their ſeveral proportions, will be able to purſue the ways and means by which their reſpective quotas can be moſt eaſily procured. I hope, my countrymen, I do not deceive either you or myſelf by this train of reflection. I believe the fœderal powers are very different from what the fears of our minority have raiſed them to. It certainly appears, that the fœderal government has not an unlimited command over the purſe, for *only one* ſource of revenue, ariſing from trade, is put entirely into their hands. In a great number of the other parts of the buſineſs, the ſeparate ſtates have a *concurrent* and *uncontroulable* power of legiſlation, and *the remainder*, which is very conſiderable, the ſtates have in their own hands, to the abſolute *excluſion* of Congreſs.

The power of the ſword, ſay the minority of Pennſylvania, is in the hands of Congreſs. My friends and countrymen, it is not ſo, for THE POWERS OF THE SWORD ARE IN THE HANDS OF THE YEOMANRY OF AMERICA FROM SIXTEEN TO SIXTY. The militia of theſe free commonwealths, entitled and accuſtomed to their arms, when compared with any poſſible army, muſt be *tremendous and irreſiſtable*. Who are theſe militia? *are they not ourſelves*. Is it feared, then, that we ſhall turn our arms *each man againſt his own boſom*. Congreſs have no power to diſarm the militia. Their ſwords, and every other terrible implement of the ſoldier, are *the birth-right of an American*. What clauſe in the ſtate or fœderal conſtitutions hath *given away* that important right. It is ſaid, Congreſs can order the militia of Georgia to New-Hampſhire! The gentlemen might have gone further, and ſaid, they might order the militia of Maryland TO MARCH OVER THE SURFACE OF THE CHESAPEAK. The latter would be obeyed as ſoon as the former. Theſe extravagancies operate againſt all power. The legiſlature of Pennſylvania may conſtitutionally order their citizens to pay in taxes one half, or even *the whole, value* of their eſtates, by the very clauſe which veſts them with the power of providing for the real and evident exigences of the ſtate government. Further, the power of the ſword, even ſo far as it is placed in the hands of Congreſs, is ſubject to *the controul* of the ſtate legiſlatures, for they name one branch of the fœderal government (the Senate) without whom no military officers can be appointed, no monies granted, no armies raiſed, no navies provided. The ſtate governments alſo have "*the authority* of training the militia, and *appointing all the officers*. The conſtitution, inſtead of providing a ſtanding (or permanent) army, takes care that *it ſhall not be ſtanding*, ſhall not *continue*, for it declares it ſhall find itſelf *abſolutely unprovided* at the end of every two years. If the people ſee the leaſt reaſon to apprehend a breach in the conſtitution by the grant of money for more than two years, they can elect new repreſentatives, and they can by virtue of thoſe military powers, *which are inſeparable from their own perſons*, ſuſpend every operation of a Congreſs, which ſhall have thus ceaſed to be a lawful and conſtitutional power. From this circumſtance, and from the citizens of the United States poſſeſſing the right of creating directly or indirectly every military officer and of granting every military reſource, I do not heſitate to affirm, that the unlimited power of the ſword is not in the hands of either the *fœderal or ſtate governments*, but, where I truſt in God it will ever remain, *in the hands of the people*.

The legiſlature of each ſtate muſt poſſeſs, *excluſively of Congreſs*, many powers, which the latter can never exerciſe. The ſtate governments can preſcribe the various puniſhments that ſhall be inflicted for diſorders, riots, aſſaults, larcenies, bigamy, arſon, burglaries, murders, ſtate treaſon, and many other offences againſt *their* peace and dignity, which, being *in no way* ſubjected to the juriſdiction of the fœderal legiſlature, would go unpuniſhed. They alone can promote the improvement of the country by general roads, canals, bridges, clearing rivers, erecting ferries, building ſtate houſes, town halls, court houſes, market houſes, county gaols, poor houſes, places of worſhip, ſtate and county ſchools and hoſpitals. They alone are the conſervators of the reputation of their reſpective ſtates in foreign countries, by having *the entire regulation* of inſpecting exports. They can create new ſtate offices, and aboliſh old ones; regulate deſcents of lands, and the diſtribution of the other property of perſons dying inteſtate; provide for calling out the militia, for any purpoſe within the ſtate; preſcribe the qualifications of electors of the ſtate, and even of the fœderal repreſentatives; make donations of lands; erect new ſtate courts; incorporate ſocieties for the purpoſes of religion, learning, policy or profit; erect counties, cities, towns and boroughs; divide an extenſive territory into two governments; declare what offences ſhall be impeachable in the ſtates, and the pains and penalties that ſhall be conſequent on conviction; and elect the fœderal ſenators. Theſe things and many more can always be done by the ſtate legiſlatures. How then can it be ſaid, that they will be abſorbed by the Congreſs, who can interfere in few or none of thoſe matters, though they are abſolutely neceſſary to the preſervation of ſociety and the exiſtence of both the fœderal and ſtate governments.

In the executive department we may obſerve, the ſtates alone can appoint the militia and civil officers, and commiſſion the ſame. They alone can execute the ſtate laws in civil or criminal matters, commence proſecutions, order out the militia on any commotion within the ſtate, collect ſtate taxes, duties and exciſes, grant patents, receive the rents and other revenues within the ſtate, pay or receive money from Congreſs, grant pardons, iſſue writs, licences, &c. among their own citizens; or, in ſhort, execute any other matter which we have ſeen the ſtate legiſlature can order or enact. In the judicial department every matter or thing, civil or criminal, great or ſmall, muſt be heard and determined by the ſtate officers, provided the parties contending and the matter in queſtion be within the juriſdiction of the ſtate. Hence our petit and grand juries, juſtices of the peace and quorum, judges of the common pleas, our board of property, our judges of oyer and terminer, of the ſupreme courts, of the courts of appeal, or chancery, will all exerciſe their ſeveral *judicial powers*, excluſive and independent of the controul or interference of the fœderal government.

The objects of thoſe ſtate judges, which I have enumerated, are highly important in regard to their value, their connection with the liberties of the people, and the exiſtence of order and government. Congreſs have not the ſmalleſt juriſdiction in thoſe caſes, either direct or indirect; and therefore, if the ſeparate ſtates ſhould *omit* to exerciſe them, the United States muſt *in one day* ruſh into abſolute *anarchy*, and be torn to pieces by wanton and extreme violence, by which *the fœderal and ſtate governments* would ſink together in one *common* ruin.

We might proceed much further, but I truſt, on a fair conſideration of what has been already ſaid, you will ſee, that inſtead of the *annihilation* of the ſtate governments by the fœderal government, Congreſs muſt not only refrain from injuring them, but that they muſt moſt carefully attend to the preſervation of their *internal peace*, and the exerciſe of their *ſeparate and indiſpenſible powers*, as the only means which can preſerve the *fœderal* government itſelf from diſorder and *annihilation*. Hence we find they have pledged themſelves to apply *the whole powers of the union* to maintain in each ſtate *a free or republican* government.

Though we readily admitted, that if the propoſed conſtitution for the United States was a *ſocial*, and not a *fœderal*, one, it would be juſtly exceptionable, yet as it appears on examination ſtrongly *fœderal*, and that it cannot poſſibly abſorb the ſtate governments, ſo all fear of that *Deſpotiſm*, which a *ſocial* government would produce in ſo extenſive a territory, is entirely removed. It may be ſatisfactory to many of my countrymen to ſee this point more copiouſly treated. I remember to have read two very valuable papers, No. 44 and 45, by *the Fœderaliſt* of New-York, who ſigns himſelf PUBLIUS, which muſt give great ſatisfaction to every diſcerning and candid mind. In the Pennſylvania Gazette alſo, No. 3008, No. 3009, and No. 3010, a writer, under the ſignature of a FREEMAN, has thrown into one view *the indefeaſible powers of the ſeparate ſtates*, and the deficiencies of *indiſpenſible ſocial power* in the propoſed government.

But, ſay the minority of Pennſylvania, Congreſs have power to regulate their own elections, by which means alone they may totally deſtroy the ſtate governments. Let us examine this point: By the fourth ſection of the firſt article it is declared, that the times, &c. of holding elections for ſenators and repreſentatives ſhall be preſcribed in each ſtate by the legiſlature thereof, but Congreſs may at any time by law make or alter *ſuch regulations*, except as to the place of chooſing Senators. What then do we find they can alter? ſuch regulations as fix the time, (that is the day or hour) of election, &c. Does this enable Congreſs to prolong their exiſtence? Do not *the preceding articles of the conſtitution* poſitively declare, that the repreſentatives ſhall be elected *every two* years, and the Senators *every ſix*, and that the former ſhall be choſen by *the citizens of each ſtate*? Does then a power to make *regulations of elections* given to the legiſlatures enable them *to alter the conſtitution*? Surely theſe gentlemen have given the ſubject but an haſty thought. But let us proceed. The article goes on to ſay, that "ſuch *regulations*," that is, the regulations *the State legiſlatures* may or might have made, may be altered, or (if omitted) may be made by Congreſs. The convention have not given the fœderal legiſlature more power in regard to theſe elections in any one ſtate, than they gave juſt before to its legiſlature. They could not intend, that either the ſtate legiſlatures, or Congreſs, ſhould alter *the conſtitutional proviſions*, by which *frequent* elections by *the people* are ſecured. After all, the matter reſts here: the convention, ſeeing that it would be pleaſing to the ſtates, left the power of *regulation* with them, till they might ſhow a diſpoſition to abuſe that power, to *the injury of the people* or *the deſtruction of the confederacy*. Knowing that ſuch an inſtance had *already* occured in Rhode-Iſland, they depoſited a controul with Congreſs. Being a matter abſolutely relative to our *fœderal* concerns, the power might have been properly depoſited with the fœderal government from the beginning, ſubject, as it now is, to the *paramount* proviſions and reſtrictions of the conſtitution itſelf. 'Tis a power which every legiſlature in the union poſſeſſes, under the *ſame controul* of their reſpective ſtate conſtitutions. Being part of their ſtate affairs, 'tis depoſited, where *alone* it ſhould be, *with their ſtate legiſlatures*; and in the caſe before us, being part of our *fœderal affairs*, is, on the ſame *ſound reaſons*, and by the ſame *neceſſity*, depoſited with our fœderal legiſlature.

A PENNSYLVANIAN.

OBJECTIONS *to the propoſed Plan of Government for the United States, on* GENUINE PRINCIPLES.

AT a Meeting of the *Wheel-barrow Society*, in the Priſon-yard, Philadelphia, February the 8th, 1788.

Preſent fifty-eight members.

JEM DORAN in the Chair.

After mature diſcuſſion, the Society unanimouſly agreed to the following

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

1ſt. *Pure natural liberty* is the right of every man to do whatever he pleaſes *without controul*, and to poſſeſs, *without retribution*, whatever he can acquire by *valour* or *addreſs*.

2d. States or ſovereign powers are as individuals in a ſtate of nature; and therefore true political liberty, or the liberty of a ſtate as a body politic, is the right of that ſtate, or of thoſe who are in the poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty thereof, to do ſuch things and enact ſuch laws, as may be thought conducive to the advancement of the powers and intereſts of that ſtate, or of the government thereof, uncontrouled by the artificial ſyſtem of reſtraints, known by the name of *The Law of Nations*.

3d. All ſyſtems of government, whether operating on *ſtates* or on individuals, although oſtenſibly formed and ſpecially declared to be for the eſtabliſhment of general juſtice and of general good, are, in fact, ſyſtems of coercion, reſtraint and oppreſſion, and ought to be abhorred by the true ſons of freedom as invaſions and abridgements of their natural rights.

4th. Whereas, in the preſent imperfect ſtate of things, *true natural liberty*, as defined in our firſt fundamental principle, cannot be univerſally enjoyed, neceſſity enforces a ſubmiſſion to what is called government, under ſome form or other.

5th. According to the foregoing principles, that form of government is the beſt, which contains the feweſt reſtraints, and leaves in the hands of the governed the greateſt portion of natural liberty, and the fulleſt ſcope for the exerciſe of perſonal proweſs and native ingenuity; it being demonſtrable, that if the component parts of any ſociety are left free, and become, *by any means*, rich and happy, the whole of that ſociety will be free, rich and happy.

6th. The worſt of all poſſible governments is that, which, by the vigorous operation of general laws, and a complication of internal checks, reſtraints and regulations, prevents individual ſtates or perſons from proſecuting their ſeparate intereſts in their own way; moſt wickedly ſacrificing the emolument of individuals to what is called the glory and proſperity of the whole.

Theſe fundamental principles being eſtabliſhed, the plan of government propoſed by the late General Convention for the United States was taken up, conſidered by paragraphs, and compared with the doctrines laid down; and after ſome debate, the following reſolutions were unanimouſly adopted, viz.

1ſt. *Reſolved*, That the conſtitution propoſed for the United States is a *conſolidated government*, pregnant with the ſeeds of coercion and reſtraint, and therefore a ſyſtem of tyranny and oppreſſion.

2d. *Reſolved*, That under ſuch a government, neither ſtates nor individuals can do or refuſe to do what they pleaſe, in all caſes, which is a direct infringement of the natural liberty of both, as defined in our firſt fundamental principle.

3d. *Reſolved*, That under ſuch a government men of education, abilities and property, commonly called *the well born*, will be moſt likely to get into places of power and truſt, to the excluſion of a large majority of a contrary deſcription.

4th. *Reſolved*, That as this conſtitution moſt arbitrarily and inhumanly prohibits the emiſſion of paper money, and other reſources by which the unfortunate debtor may throw off the diſcouraging burthen of his obligations, it ought to be conſidered, as in fact it is, a ſyſtem of tyranny and oppreſſion, compelling citizens in many inſtances to do things extremely diſagreeable, and contrary to their intereſt.

5th. *Reſolved*, That under ſuch a government the induſtrious and wealthy may enjoy their property in ſecurity, to the great injury of thoſe who have no property at all.

6th. *Resolved*, That under such a government there will be no encouragement for gentlemen of adventure and address to procure subsistance and wealth by extraordinary modes of acquirement, because what is called the vigour of law will pervade the whole union.

7th. *Resolved*, That the government proposed is consonant with our 6th fundamental principle, and the worst of all possible governments; and therefore

8th. *Resolved*, That the members of the late general convention, who framed, voted for, and recommended this plan of government, and all state conventions who have or shall hereafter adopt and ratify the same, and all those individuals, who, by word of mouth, by writing and publishing, or by any other means, shall express their approbation of the said infamous constitution, are, and ought to be, considered by all the true sons of liberty as demagogues, aristocratics, conspirators, traytors, tyrants, and enemies of the natural rights of mankind.

9th. *Resolved*, That as we are the most numerous and respectable body that have as yet combined, formally to avow and publish a disapprobation of this new constitution, it is fit and proper that we should be regularly organized, that other worthy malcontents in this and the other states may, by association or election, be annexed to our community, and so make up a union of strength to oppose the establishment of this tyrannical government: Therefore,

10th, *Resolved*, That we will now proceed to the election of a President, Vice-President and Secretary.

Whereupon, the ballots being fairly taken and counted, stood as follows:

For the PRESIDENTSHIP.

For the Author of the pieces signed CENTINEL,	51 votes.
For Jem Doran, - - -	5
For Arthur M'Garity, - - -	2

VICE-PRESIDENT.

For L—— M——, Esquire, of Maryland,	47 votes.
For Daniel Cronan, - - -	8
For Pat Dalton, - - -	3

SECRETARY.

For the Author of the pieces signed PHILADELPHIENSIS, - - - -	30 votes.
For Kit Carbery, - - - -	28

The following members were then appointed a committee of correspondence, viz. Jem Doran, Arthur M'Garity, John Doughty, Pat Dalton, Daniel Cronan, James Bulger, and Kit Carbery, to hold communication with the late adherents of General Shays in the state of Massachusetts, and with other worthy oppofers in the several states.

The society directed that these their proceedings should be made public, and then resumed their daily occupation of cleaning the streets and common sewers.

PHILADELPHIA, February 20.

On Saturday last, upon the arrival of the news of the Ratification of the Fœderal Constitution by the powerful state of Massachusetts, the Bells of Christ-Church were rung, and Congratulations of Joy have appeared in every part of the City for several days past.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman of distinction in Boston, dated February 6, 1788.

"I have the pleasure to inform you, that our convention this day ratified the constitution by a majority of 187 against 168. The minority are moderate, and say, *they will with alacrity support the government.*"

The conventions of Delaware, New-Jersey and Georgia, says a correspondent, adopted the new constitution unanimously.---There all was harmony. The minorities of the Connecticut and Massachusetts conventions acquiesced in the just authority of the majority, and all was harmony between the two sides of the question. Let us then in Pennsylvania support the honor of our states by giving to each other the right hand of mutual regard, and making the kindest use of the time to come, which is yet dishonored by no dissentions.

The convention of New-Hampshire were to assemble the 13th instant. In that happy state, both parties, which formerly were warm, are most cordially united in favor of the new constitution.

The states which have already adopted the fœderal constitution contain a majority of *the free persons* of the United States, and, what is a still more comfortable reflexion, are two thirds of the number which is necessary to render the government efficient. When we recollect that all but Rhode-Island have called a convention, and all the conventions, who have determined, have given their fiat to the constitution, we cannot doubt the that next fœderal year will commence with all the thirteen states united in the new confederacy.

Advices from Europe inform us, that the unfortunate Dutch patriots are miserably harrassed and insulted by the Orange party. The new constitution of the United States, we think, will be found a blessing to many of the unfortunate friends to liberty in that distracted country.

The friends of the United States in England, whether Americans or Britons, are strong in their approbation of the new constitution.

Extract of a letter from an American gentleman in London, dated November 14, 1787.

"The fœderal constitution deserves that countenance and those exertions, which all cool and considerate men will, I hope, continue to give it. Mr. A----, after a thorough examination of the plan, although he wishes some parts of it had been built differently, and he thinks need a little amendment, approves, recommends, and hopes the same will be *unanimously adopted*. Every *learned, good* and great man here, who is a well-wisher to our country, applauds the fœderal constitution, and only fears the people will be misled, and not adopt it.

"Last week the Most Christian King obtained a loan to be enregistered by his parliament, of about 20 millions sterling."

Messrs. HALL & SELLERS,

I FIND an entirely new objection is made to the new government framed by our great Gen. Washington and others, and that is---that a *Bricklayer* had a hand in it, and that it is supported only by *Draymen* and *Waggoners*. Now, gentlemen, is it the worse for this?---Are not Mechanics and Labourers as necessary in every country as Lawyers, Doctors and Parsons?---and in a free country, are they not entitled to equal privileges with other people?-----Such reflections upon Mechanics and Labourers illy become the writers, who have been filling the news-papers with abuse against rich men!-----For if neither Gentlemen nor Mechanics are to govern us----by whom are we to be governed?----I hope NOT by Men who are NEITHER.

A SHIP CARPENTER.

*** *Want of Room obliges us to omit the Communications of several Correspondents this Week, but they shall be attended to in our next.*

Philadelphia, February 15, 1788.

THE creditors of *Joseph Mather*, are requested to send in their accounts, properly authenticated, to MIERS FISHER, as the assignees are now possessed of a sum of money that will bear a dividend, which they propose to make within three weeks from this date, if the creditors shall generally furnish their demands.

MIERS FISHER,
J. M. NESBITT,
LEVY HOLLINGSWORTH,
EDWARD GEORGE,
} Assignees.

*** The *Committee* for conducting the Business of AMERICAN MANUFACTURES desire, that the SUBSCRIBERS to the Manufacturing Fund will be pleased to pay in their *SUBSCRIPTIONS* to Mr. JOSEPH HILBORN, Treasurer to the Society.

By order of the Committee,
THOMAS RUSTON, Chairman.

Just Published, on an entire new American type and good paper,
(PRICE 5s3 in boards)
The FIRST VOLUME of the

Debates *of the* Convention

Of the STATE *of* PENNSYLVANIA,
On the CONSTITUTION proposed for the GOVERNMENT of the UNITED STATES.

Taken accurately in Short Hand by THOMAS LLOYD.

Containing----The Speeches of Thomas M'Kean and James Wilson, Esquires. In which they have *unfolded* the principles of *Free Governments*; *demonstrated* the superior advantages *of this Constitution*; and *answered every Objection* hitherto suggested.

Philadelphia, SOLD by *T. Seddon*, in Market-street, and the principal Booksellers in Pennsylvania---At *New-York*, by Messrs. *Berry & Rogers*, Messrs. *S. & J. Louden*, Mr. *Hodge*---At *Baltimore*, by Mr. *Clarke*---At *Richmond*, by Mr. *A. Davis*, and by the principal Booksellers in the United States.

*** Subscribers to the Debates of the General Assembly will be furnished with one copy each, on application to the Editor, for 3s9. He is happy to embrace this opportunity of returning the patrons of that undertaking his most grateful acknowledgments. February 16, 1788.

To be SOLD by public Vendue,

On the premises, on Saturday, the 22d day of March next,

THE Plantation whereon the subscriber lives, situate in Providence township, Montgomery county, about 24 miles from Philadelphia, and 7 from Norristown, containing about 150 acres, 10 or 11 whereof are good meadow, the remainder chiefly good wheat land; there is on said tract a good bearing orchard of grafted fruit, a good stone dwelling-house, with a pump of never failing water at the door, good stone spring-house, and a large stone-barn, with convenient stabling for horses and cattle. Also a grist-mill with two pair of stones, capable of a great deal of business, as Perkioming creek (the stream by which it is turned) is sufficient to grind in the driest seasons; is well situated for country grist, and not more than two miles from the Reading-road, from whence wheat may, at most times, be readily commanded. If not then sold, it will be to let. The title and terms of sale will be made known at the time and place aforesaid.

February 15, 1788. ¶ THOMAS REES.

To be SOLD by public Vendue,

ON THURSDAY, the 21st of FEBRUARY, at nine o'clock in the morning, at the place of Mr. Jacob Bankson, in Mayomensing township about two miles from the city of Philadelphia, five horses, four cows, four carts, two ploughs, two harrows, a chair, a sleigh, about eight tons of excellent hay, a quantity of straw, about thirty bushels of rye, some grain in the ground, a quantity of potatoes and garden-seeds; a ten-plate stove, a six plate ditto, a clock, a watch, a number of valuable books; also houshold and kitchen furniture, too tedious to mention; late the property of George Young, deceased.

The conditions will be made known at the time and place of sale, by JACOB YOUNG, } Administrators.
PETER YOUNG, }

All persons indebted to the estate of GEORGE YOUNG, deceased, late of Moyamensing township, Philadelphia county, are desired to make speedy payment. And all those who have any demands against said estate, are requested to bring them in, properly attested, to JACOB YOUNG, living in Moyamensing, for payment. § February 14 1788.

To be SOLD by public Vendue,

On the 11th day of March next, at two o'clock in the afternoon,

A VALUABLE Plantation, in the township of North-Wales, and county of Montgomery, whereon Conrad Sayple now lives, about four miles above the Friends Meeting house, and two miles from Jacob Hayseler's tavern, on the Swamp road, the direct road to Allen-town; bounded northward by the line that separates Towamensing from North-Wales, eastward by land formerly of Robert Ellis, but now the Heirs of Amos Strettle, southward by the estate of Humphry Jones, deceased, and westward with lands of Amos Griffiths, containing 123 acres, of which about 10 acres are good meadow, watered partly by a plentiful spring, and partly by a rivulet which runs through the tract, sufficient for a grist or saw-mill great part of the year; there is woodland enough for the use of the farm for many years, and the remainder good arable land, as productive as any in the neighbourhood. On the plantation are a tenantable log house, barracks and stables adequate to protect the grain, hay and cattle from the weather. Persons inclined to purchase may view the premises on or before the day of sale. One third of the purchase money to be paid on the delivery of a good deed, and a mortgage, &c. to be given for the remaining part (one half thereof payable with interest one year after the sale, and the other half with interest twelve months afterwards) when possession will be given. The sale will be held on the premises, or at Jacob Hayseler's tavern, as may be judged best on the day of sale, when attendance will be given, by † PHILIP & THOMAS KINSEY.

Philadelphia, February 11, 1788.

To be SOLD by public Vendue,

On the premises, on THURSDAY, the 13th of March next,
(If not Sold before by private Sale)

THAT valuable Farm, whereon Samuel M'Ninch now lives, in Northampton county, Mountbethel township, near James Richard's tavern, containing about 250 acres, for which there will be a good title given. This plantation is pleasantly situated, in a very healthy part of the country, and near the river Delaware; upwards of 100 acres is cleared, about 20 of which is excellent meadow, and nearly the same quantity more may be made. There are on the premises a square log house, frame barn, milk, and other out houses, a good bearing orchard, a valuable spring near the door, also an excellent mill seat, on a constant stream of water, which passes through the center of the meadow land. Any person inclining to purchase, may know the terms, by applying to JOSEPH MARTIN, or SAMUEL MILLER, near the premises. * February 19, 1788.

To be SOLD or LET,

And possession given the middle of March next,

THAT commodious TAVERN in Frankford, formerly kept by Col. Benjamin M'Veagh. For terms, enquire of THOMAS TILLYER, in Philadelphia, ISAIAH WORRALL, in Frankford, or PERNAL M'VEAGH, in Burlington.

Salem, New-Jersey, February 11, 1788.

WAS committed to my custody on Wednesday, the sixth instant, a NEGROE MAN, about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, and says he belongs to CATESBY JONES, in Virginia. The owner is desired to come and pay charges, and take him away, or he will be sold out for the same in five weeks from the date hereof, by § JOHN COPE, Goaler.

NEW-YORK, February 14.

Yesterday evening arrived in this city, the Hon. Rufus King, Esq; who left Boston last Saturday.---By this gentleman we have received a Boston paper of February 9th (three days later than the post brought us) which contains the following

IMPORTANT INTELLIGENCE.

BOSTON, February 9.

THE GRAND FEDERAL EDIFICE.

With the highest satisfaction we announce to the public, that the Convention of this commonwealth, on Wednesday, at five o'clock, P. M. *assented to*, and on Thursday *ratified* the *Constitution* proposed by the late Fœderal Convention. On this pleasing event we beg leave to congratulate the public, and to express our sincere wishes, that the general joy which it has diffused through all ranks of citizens, may be an auspicious omen of the *superior* advantages which shall result from the establishment of such a Fœderal Government as this Constitution provides.

On the motion for ratifying being declared in the affirmative, by a majority of nineteen, the

Hon. Mr. White rose and said, that notwithstanding he had opposed the adoption of the constitution, upon the idea that it would endanger the liberties of his country, yet, as a majority had seen fit to adopt it, he should use his utmost exertions to induce his constituents to live in peace under, and chearfully submit to it.

He was followed by Mr. Wedgery, who said, that he should return to his constituents, and inform them, that he had opposed the adoption of the constitution---but that he had been over-ruled, and that it had been carried by a majority of wise and understanding men:---that he should endeavor to sow the seeds of union and peace among the people he represented:---and that he hoped, and believed, that no person would wish for or suggest the measure of a PROTEST; for, said he, we must consider that this body is as full a representation of the people as can be conceived.---After expressing his thanks for the civility which the inhabitants of this town have shewn to the Convention, and declaring as his opinion, that they had not in the least influenced the decision--he concluded by saying, that he should support, as much as in him lay, the constitution; and that he believed, as this state had adopted it, that not only nine, but the whole thirteen would come into the measure.

Gen. Whitney said, that though he had been opposed to the constitution, he should support it as much as if he had voted for it.

M. Cooley (Amherst) said, that he endeavoured to govern himself by the principles of reason---that he was directed to vote against the adoption of the constitution, and that in so doing, he had not only complied with his directions, but had acted according to the dictates of his own conscience; but that as it was agreed to by a majority, he should endeavour to convince his constituents of the propriety of its adoption.

Dr. Taylor also said, he had uniformly opposed the constitution, that he found himself fairly beat---and expressed his determination to go home, and endeavour to infuse a spirit of harmony and love among the people.

Other gentlemen expressed their inclination to speak, but it growing late the convention adjourned to this morning, ten o'clock.

The convention met on Thursday, when Major Nason, in a short address, intimated his determination of supporting the constitution, and exerting himself to influence his constituents to do the same.

M. Randal said, he had been uniformly opposed to the constitution. He had, he said, fought like a good soldier, but, as he was beat, he should sit down contented, hoping the minority may be disappointed in their fears, and that the majority may reap the full fruition of the blessings they anticipate. In the hope that the amendments recommended by his excellency the president will take place, I shall, says he, go home, and endeavour to satisfy those who have honoured me by their choice, that we may live in peace.

Major Sawin declared, that the constitution had had a fair trial, and that there had not, to his knowledge, been any undue influence exercised to obtain a vote in its favour---that many doubts which lay in his mind had been removed---and that, although he was in the minority, he should support the constitution as chearfully and heartily as tho' he had voted on the other side of the question.

The above open, manly and honorable conduct of the gentlemen who composed the minority, was very different from that of the turbulent opposers of the constitution in Pennsylvania, who, not content with their declamatory and odious protest against its adoption, are now endeavouring to involve their country in all the horrors of a civil war, by exciting tumult and insurrection. To the everlasting honor of Massachusetts will the above be told --as it will convince the world, that her sons know rightly how to prize the principle of republicanism---that of submitting to the decision of a majority. After the gentlemen above mentioned had expressed their sentiments---on motion of the Honorable Mr. Cabot, the following votes were passed:

VOTED, *unanimously*, That the thanks of this convention be given to his excellency the president, for his generous and patriotic efforts, during a painful illness, to unite the membets of this body in such a decision upon the subject of their deliberation, as in his opinion was essential to the safety and happiners of the people of the United States; and also, for the patient attention, and perfect impartiality, with which his excellency has presided, while his health permitted him to regulate their debates.

VOTED, *unanimously*, That his honor the vice-president be requested to accept the united thanks of this convention, for the uniform candor and impartiality exhibited by his honor, while presiding in the absence of the president.

Votes of thanks to the reverend chaplains, and the proprietors of the meeting-house in Fœderal-street, were also passed.---After which it was voted, to move from the place wherein the convention were then sitting to the state-house, in order to declare the ratification of the constitution in form; which took place immediately. It being known that the indisposition of body of his excellency the president would prevent him from leading the convention on foot, a number of respectable citizens appeared at the door of the house, with an elegant carriage, into which, with the violence of ardent affection and honest enthusiasm, they forced his excellency---and notwithstanding his most earnest solicitations to be permitted to proceed in a different manner---they drew him in it to the state-house---where the convention, having convened in the representatives' chamber, voted to attend the declaration of the ratification of the constitution---which was done by the high sheriff of the county of Suffolk, as follows.

[*The form of ratification, and propositions subsequent, were exactly similar to those published in our paper of Wednesday last, to which we refer our Readers.*]

On the ratification being thus declared, a very large concourse of spectators testified their satisfaction by repeated huzzas---and *the whole* convention, being previously invited, partook, with a number of respectable citizens, at a decent repast, prepared in the Senate Chamber----where, in mutual congratulations and testimonials of satisfaction, all party ideas were done away------and such a spirit of joy, union and urbanity diffused, as, if continued, must be attended with the most happy consequences through the commonwealth. The toasts given were truly conciliatory, and were, we believe, drank with sincerity by every one present---all appeared willing to bury the hatchet of animosity, and to smoke the calumet of union and love.

After

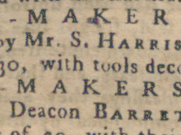
After this repaſt the convention diſſolved.---Thus far the proceedings of the convention. Now for thoſe *of the people.*

The citizens of Boſton have ever ſhewn themſelves advocates for freedom--therefore, when a motion had obtained, one of the greateſt objects of which is, "to ſecure the bleſſings of liberty to themſelves and their poſterity," they could not reſiſt the ſtrong impulſe they muſt have had, publicly to teſtify their gratitude for the pleaſing event---Nor have they---On the deciſion being declared, the bells in the ſeveral public buildings communicated the happy intelligence to every part of the town, by a peal which continued for ſeveral hours---and which has been continued with ſhort intervals ever ſince. The diſcharge of cannon, and other demonſtrations of joy, took place on Wedneſday and Thurſday, but it was left to yeſterday to produce an exhibition, to which America has never before witneſſed an equal---and which has exceeded any thing of the kind Europe can boaſt of.

The committee of Tradeſmen met on Thurſday, and by public advertiſements, requeſted the attendance of the mechanics and artizans of every deſcription in town, at Faneuil Hall, at nine o'clock yeſterday, in order to form and proceed in grand proceſſion therefrom, to teſtify their approbation of the ratification of the fœderal conſtitution, by the convention of this commonwealth, the 9th inſtant, and deputed their chairman to requeſt *their Brethren*, the huſbandmen of the adjacent towns, to join them; who, though the notice was very ſhort, accordingly appeared in town at 9 o'clock; when ſeveral trades being met, at 11 o'clock, in real GRAND PROCESSION, the whole moved from the Hall, and the following was the

ORDER of the PROCESSION.

Sixteen Foreſters, with axes, and bruſh ſcythes.
Muſic.
A PLOUGH,
Drawn by two horſes, and two yokes of oxen, with a perſon holding it, and others clearing away the obſtructions.
[The Sons of Freedom *venerate* the Plough.]
Three Sowers, with baſkets, ſtrewing grain and ſmoaking their pipes.
A Bruſh-Harrow, drawn by a horſe.
A large Roller, drawn by a horſe and pair of oxen.
Four Reapers, with ſickles, &c.
Four Mowers, with ſcythes, followed by eighteen Hay-Makers, with rakes, &c.
Eight Huſbandmen, with hoes, ſpades and other farming utenſils.
A Cart, drawn by a yoke of oxen, with Flax-Dreſſers at work, and in their working dreſſes.
A yoke of fat Cattle, with killers, properly equipped.
A Cart loaded with Beef, followed by eight maſter Butchers, in clean frocks.
[*The above were our worthy Brethren of Roxbury.*
BLACKSMITHS,
Preceded by Mr. BAKER,
To the number of 73, carrying implements of their craft---decorated with ribbons, &c.
SHIPWRIGHTS,
Preceded by Deacon SHARP,
To the number of 43, with their tools decorated, &c.
ROPE-MAKERS,
Preceded by Mr. WILLIAM M'NEILL,
To the number of 75, their waiſts encircled with hemp---with a cable ſled, drawn by workmen, decorated with colours, and attended with martial muſic.
MAST-MAKERS,
Preceded by Mr. S. HARRIS,
To the number of 30, with tools decorated, &c.
SAIL-MAKERS,
Preceded by Deacon BARRETT,
To the number of 30, with their tools.
SHIP JOINERS,
Preceded by Mr. T. URAN.
To the number of 34, with their tools decorated.
BLOCK-MAKERS,
Preceded by Mr. J. BALSH,
To the number of 30, with tools, &c.
MATHEMATICAL INSTRUMENT-MAKERS,
To the number of 6, with inſtruments, &c.
COOPERS,
Preceded by Mr. AVERS,
To the number of 23, with tools decorated, &c.
BOAT BUILDERS,
Preceded by Mr. T. HICHBORN,
To the number of 20, with tools, &c.
PAINTERS,
To the number of 20, with pallets, &c. decorated.
CARVERS,
Preceded by Mr. SKILLINGS,
With tools, &c. decorated, to the number of 12.
RIGGERS,
To the number of 18, with tools, &c.
GLAZIERS AND PLUMBERS,
Preceded by Captain NORTON BRAILSFORD,
To the number of 16, with diamonds, &c.
BAKERS,
Headed by Mr. J. WHITE,
To the number of 40, with their tools, &c.
TANNERS AND CURRIERS,
Preceded by Mr. S. BASS,
To the number of 28, with tools, &c.
SHOE-MAKERS,
Preceded by Mr. S. BANGS,
To the number of 50, with laſts, &c. decorated.
TAYLORS,
To the number of 56, with their tools, meaſures, &c.
HATTERS,
Preceded by Major SEWARD,
To the number of 26, with their bows, furs, &c.
TALLOW-CHANDLERS,
To the number of 8, with a miniature preſs, mould, &c.
Mr. VOSE, on Horſeback.
The Ship FEDERAL CONSTITUTION,
On runners, drawn by 13 horſes,
JOHN FOSTER WILLIAMS, Eſq; Commander,
Lieut. WEEKS,
Lieut. ADAMS,
Mr. LA MOINE, Maſter,
Mr. E. SIGOURNEY, Purſer,



Manned by 13 Seamen and Marines,
With full colours flying---followed by captains of veſſels, 85 ſeamen, dreſſed in ribbands, and about 150 of the principal merchants in town.
SHIP BUILDERS,
To the number of 20, with a work yard, drawn by 13 horſes, in which were 7 or 8 veſſels on the ſtocks, with the men at work.
CARPENTERS,
Preceded by Mr. CRAFTS,
To the number of 136, with tools of every ſort, decorated.
MASONS,
Preceded by Major BELL,
To the number of 70, with trowels, &c. as at work.
CABINET AND COACH-MAKERS,
WHEEL-WRIGHTS, &c.
To the number of 30, with the inſignia of their crafts.
PRINTERS,
Preceded by Mr. B. EDES,
To the number of 15, with a ſtand, drawn on a ſled, and compoſitors at work.
SADDLERS,
To the number of 12 with tools decorated, &c.
GOLDSMITHS,
To the number of 12, with tools decorated, &c.
GOLDSMITHS,
To the number of 15, with hammers, &c.
LEATHER-DRESSERS,
Preceded by Major W. DAWES on horſeback, (dreſſed in ſkins)
To the number of 20, with ſkins, and working tools.
CARD-MAKERS,
To the number of 12, with wire, &c.
The COMMITTEE of TRADESMEN, in a ſleigh, drawn by 4 horſes.
The REPUBLICAN VOLUNTEERS, commanded by Captain Gray, cloſed the proceſſion.

In this order, the whole proceeded by the houſes of the ſeveral gentlemen, who repreſented this town in convention, and teſtified their approbation of their conduct by three huzzas from the whole line, and ſalutes from the ſhip and volunteer company. About 4 o'clock, the proceſſion arrived at the Hall, where refreſhment was liberally provided, at which as many as could find admittance partook; but though the Hall will hold 1500 men, not above one-third of the proceſſion could get in. However, we were happy that our country friends were accommodated to their wiſhes.

We have not time to give a *juſt* account of this beautiful parade: we can only ſay, that the perfect order and urbanity, the dignity and ſolemnity that marked the proceſſion through the whole day, was ſuch as had a moſt intereſting effect on the numerous ſpectators which a ſcene ſo auguſt and novel collected together.

At two o'clock, when the proceſſion paſſed by the ſtate houſe, Captain Johnſon's company of artillery honored them with a ſalute of 13 guns.

Bucks county, February 14, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Saturday, the 1ſt of March next, at the houſe of John Rodrock, inn-keeper, in Plumſtead townſhip, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Meſſuage, Plantation and Tract of Land, ſituate in Plumſtead aforeſaid, bounded by lands of John Rodrock, Iſrael Doan, and others; containing 100 acres, be the ſame more or leſs; Taken in execution as the property of Benjamin Vaſtine, and to be ſold, by
WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, February 14, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Saturday, the 1ſt of March next, at the houſe of John Rodrock, inn-keeper, in Plumſtead townſhip, at three o'clock in the afternoon, two Lots of Land, ſituate in Plumſtead, one containing about 14 acres, bounded by land of Thomas Wright, Joſeph Rich, and others; the other containing about four acres, bounded by land of John Furneſs, Jonathan Brown, and others; taken in execution as the property of William Dayle, ſenr. and to be ſold, by
WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, February 14, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Monday, the 3d of March next, on the premiſes, at one o'clock in the afternoon; a certain Tract or parcel of land, ſituate in the townſhip of Briſtol, bounded by Neſhaminy creek, and by lands late of Samuel Allen, Thomas Clifford, and others; containing 220 acres, be the ſame more or leſs, with the appurtenances; taken in execution as late the eſtate of Walter William Harris, and Mary his wife, and to be ſold, by
WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, February 14, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Monday, the third of March next, at the houſe of Charles Beſſonet, in Briſtol, at four o'clock in the afternoon, one equal undivided fifth part of a Houſe, and two Lots of Land, in and near the borough of Briſtol, containing about 12 acres; bounded by lands of William M'Ilvaine, Eſquire, Samuel Kinſy, and others; taken in execution as the property of Henry Shellingſberg, and to be ſold, by
WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

CAME to the Plantation of William Ingram, in Weſt-Whiteland townſhip, Cheſter County, ſeven or eight white Sheep; they were taken up on the 27th of December laſt, having been in the neighbourhood moſt part of laſt ſummer. The owner is deſired to come, prove property, pay charges, and take them away.
WILLIAM INGRAM.
February 14, 1788. †

To be SOLD by private Sale,

A VALUABLE Plantation or Tract of Land, ſituate in Springfield townſhip, Montgomery county, and bounding on the Germantown great-road, eleven miles from Philadelphia; containing 115½ acres; there is on the ſaid premiſes, a large ſtone houſe well finiſhed, a good log barn, a large bearing orchard of the beſt kinds of grafted fruit, about 30 acres of excellent meadow well watered, 20 acres of good woodland, the remainder good arable land; the whole will be ſold together, or divided into lots, as may beſt ſuit the purchaſers. Any perſon or perſons inclining to purchaſe may know the terms of ſale, by applying to JACOB REIFF, in Lower Salford townſhip, Montgomery county, or JOHN HUSTON, conveyancer, living near the premiſes.

N. B. If the ſaid premiſes are not ſold againſt the 20th of March next, the whole will be let upon rent.
February 12, 1788. ‡

WANTS EMPLOYMENT,

Either in a COUNTING HOUSE or STORE,

A MIDDLE aged perſon, who can be well recommended, and capable of undertaking the above employment, having ſerved near 10 years in one of the firſt wholeſale houſes in London. A line left at the printers, directed for I. R. will be duly attended to.

Eveſham townſhip, Burlington county, Jan. 28, 1788.

THREE POUNDS Reward.

RAN away, this morning, from the ſubſcriber, an apprentice lad, named JOHN WHITECRAFT, about 19 years of age, of a ſandy complexion, freckled in the face; had on and took with him, a fuſtian coatee, jacket and overalls, a new round hat, a pair of woollen trowſers, two jackets, one nap, the other coarſe cloth of a light colour, two pair of ſtockings, one white, the other blue. Whoever takes up and ſecures ſaid apprentice, ſo that his maſter may get him again, ſhall have the above reward, paid by ‡ WILLIAM SHARP.

TO BE SOLD,

A VALUABLE PLANTATION of 150 acres of good land, with large improvements, an old over ſhot griſt mill and oyl mill, 20 acres of watered meadow made, and 20 more may be made, ſituate in Bethel townſhip, Tulpehocken rich ſettlement, in Berks county, about 24 miles weſt from Reading town.

Alſo a new griſt mill and ſaw mill, in Liken's valley, on Wioneſky creek, with the other improvements. The purchaſer may have 300, 600, or 1000 acres therewith of good land, ſituate in Berks county, about 40 miles from Reading.

Alſo 1200 acres of extraordinary land on Middle creek, a few miles below Sunbury, and near Suſquehanna, where 100 acres of watered meadow may be made, and a griſt mill and ſaw mills may be erected at a ſmall expence.

And 1800 acres on Lycoming creek, of rich good land, where large quantities of watered meadow may be made, and mills erected, a few miles above Samuel Wallis, Eſquire, and a number of ſmaller tracts of good land.

Alſo a valuable plantation of 250 acres, with large improvements, near Muſpillion landing, in Kent county, Delaware ſtate. For terms, enquire of the ſubſcriber, in Vine-ſtreet, Philadelphia.
DANIEL WILLIAMS.

Alſo the beſt kind of BOULTING CLOTHS, CHEAP.

Juſt Publiſhed, and to be Sold by
THOMAS DOBSON and WILLIAM YOUNG, in Second-ſtreet, and JOSEPH CRUKSHANK, in Market-ſtreet,

CONDUCTOR GENERALIS:

OR THE
OFFICE, DUTY *and* AUTHORITY
OF
JUSTICES OF THE PEACE,

High-Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, Coroners, Conſtables, Goalers, Jury-Men, and *Overſeers* of the *Poor.*

AS ALSO
The OFFICE *of* CLERKS *of* ASSIZE *and of the* PEACE, &c.
TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
Several choice MAXIMS in LAW, &c.
Compiled chiefly from *Burn's Juſtice*, and the ſeveral other books on thoſe ſubjects.
By JAMES PARKER, Eſquire, *late* Juſtice *of the Peace in Middleſex county, New-Jerſey.*
Adapted to theſe United States.

The whole Alphabetically digeſted under the ſeveral titles; with a Table, directing to the ready finding out the proper matter under thoſe titles---*Neatly bound*; *Price* 11/3.

*** This Book is highly eſteemed, and very neceſſary for gentlemen in the commiſſion of the peace; likewiſe for every other perſon, who would wiſh to be acquainted with the laws of the land we live in.

At the above Stores alſo may be had, juſt Publiſhed,
Newton's Deſſertations on the Prophecies, 2 vols. 20*s.*
Edwards's Hiſtory of Redemption, 10*s.*
Edwards on Religious Affections, 10*s.*

Whereas the PARTNERSHIP of
David and Matthew Duncan
Was DISSOLVED on the 1ſt day of October laſt,
ALL Perſons INDEBTED to, or who have DEMANDS on the SAME, are requeſted to ſettle with DAVID DUNCAN.
Philadelphia, Feb. 2, 1788. ct3m.

Pennſylvania Hoſpital Medical Library.

THE following BOOKS are miſſing. The Gentlemen who have them in poſſeſſion will oblige the Contributors, by returning them to WILLIAM GARDNER, Apothecary, at the Hoſpital.

Van Swieten's Commentaries, Vol. 7th.
Aſtruc on the Venereal Diſeaſe, Vol. 2d.
M Quere's Elements of Chemiſtry, Vol. 1ſt.
Hoffman's Works, Vol. 5th.

By order of a Board of Managers,
1ſt Mo. 28, 1788. SAMUEL COATES, Clerk.

TO BE LETT,

A PLANTATION, with a large tract of banked meadow, ſituate in Glouceſter county, New-Jerſey, oppoſite to Cheſter. Any perſon, with a good capital, inclinable to take the above, may know the terms, by applying as the Printers will direct.

TO BE SOLD,

A LARGE two-ſtory Stone Dwelling-Houſe and Kitchen and Lot or Piece of Ground, Situate on Germantown main ſtreet, above the market-houſe, being about 133 feet and 9 inches front, and 396 feet back: Having thereon a Tan-Yard with 32 Vats, Lime-Handlers, a Stone Bark and Mill-Houſe, Currying and Lime-Houſe, a good Spring with a Spring-Houſe and Pump, a large Copper Boiler, Barn, Waggon-houſe, Stables, Garden, &c. containing about an acre, and is known by the name of JONES's TAN-YARD.

Alſo a Tract or Piece of Land, ſituate back of the above premiſes, fronting on Benſel's lane, leading to Schuylkill, very well improved, and having a conſiderable number of excellent Fruit-Trees.

Any perſon inclining to purchaſe the above premiſes, together or ſeparately, is deſired to apply to PETER LE BARBIER DUPLESSIS, Eſquire, in Cheſnut-ſtreet, near Third-ſtreet, or to JOSEPH FERREE.

N. B. An indiſputable title will be given for the above, as the mortgage will be previouſly diſcharged, and PENNSYLVANIA or JERSEY MONEY taken for half of the purchaſe money.

The above, if not ſold within a month from the date hereof, will be let. Enquire as above, where a number of Tracts of Land, patented or only warranted, may be had, at the moſt reaſonable price. Philadelphia, February 1, 1788.

To be SOLD at private Sale,

A LARGE commodious HOUSE, ſituate in Darby, next door to the Ship Tavern towards Philadelphia, very convenient for a large family, a good ſtand for a ſtore, or for a tradeſman that works in the houſe; there are four good rooms on each of the two firſt floors, and two ditto in the garret, all of them cieled, with a good cellar under it, alſo a pump at the kitchen door. The lot it ſtands on is 50 feet wide and about 400 deep, with a barn and a number of fruit trees.

Alſo to be ſold, another adjoining it, with two rooms on a floor, and a good cellar. The lot is 50 feet front and 400 in depth, with a ſtable on it, and a variety of fruit trees. Any perſon inclining to purchaſe, may know the terms by applying to JESSE SHARPLESS, at the corner of Cheſtnut and Third-ſtreets, Philadelphia. If not ſold, it will be to be rented, and may be entered on the 1ſt day of April next. The terms will be made eaſy to the purchaſer. §

PHILADELPHIA: Printed by HALL and SELLERS, at the NEW-PRINTING OFFICE, near the MARKET.

FEBRUARY, 1788. THE NUMB. 3013.

PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1788.

To be SOLD at private Sale,

The following Capital Eſtates in Bucks county, in Pennſylvania;

1ſt. LANGHORNE PARK, with the Manſion-houſe, and other meſſuages, barns, coach-houſes, ſtables and ſpring-houſe, with a good griſt-mill, on a never failing ſtream, and a ſeat on another ſtream, with a fall of water, on which a capital griſt-mill may be erected to great advantage, being in the vicinity of a fine wheat country, within 3 miles of navigation for ſhallops and flats; being within ſix miles of the borough of Briſtol, and city of Burlington, two ſea port towns, about 20 miles above the city of Philadelphia, with 927 acres of excellent land, arable and meadow; abounding with ſeveral ſtreams of water, and remarkable fine ſprings, riſing in high land, from which at a ſmall expence, near 100 acres of the beſt watered meadow may be made; ſeveral hundred acres of wood-land, abounding with plenty of the beſt timber. This eſtate was formerly the ſeat of Jeremiah Langhorne, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of Pennſylvania, now in good repair and ready to be delivered to the purchaſer next ſpring; the manſion-houſe, kitchen and out offices, ſuitable to accommodate a large and genteel family. This tract, for health and good neighbourhood, is exceeded by few, if any, the proſpect is delightful, and capable of the firſt improvement in elegance and taſte, 19 miles from the city of Philadelphia, and five from Newton, the county town; and large good roads to and from it. The ſouthern boundary is on Neſhaminy creek, in which are plenty of fiſh of various ſorts, for the angle or net, alſo wild fowl; and it is not doubted will, in a few years, be navigable for boats of burthen, when ſome expected improvements are made, it being a prevailing ſentiment, that the moſt elegant and commodious place for the Fœderal city will be about 10 miles to the north eaſt of it; and the great road from Boſton and New-York to the capital cities in the ſouthern ſtates, go near, if not through it. There are ſeveral fine quarries of building and paving ſtones on ſaid eſtate, and on the ſurface none to incommode the plough. This was part of the real eſtate of the late Lawrence Growdon, Eſq; deceaſed, and deviſed by his laſt will to his two daughters, Elizabeth Nichleſon and Grace Galloway. This eſtate to be ſold in fee-ſimple.

2d. TREVOSE, on the ſouth ſide of Neſhaminy creek, and adjoining No. 1; containing 382 ares and 62 perches, the ancient ſeat of Joſeph Growdon, Eſq; formerly Chief Juſtice of Pennſylvania, ſucceeded by his ſon Lawrence Growdon, Eſq; one of the aſſiſtant Judges of the ſupreme court, on which are erected an elegant manſion houſe, built by the latter, in the modern ſtile, four rooms on a floor, with kitchen and out offices to anſwer, equal to moſt in the ſtate; two good barns, ſtables and many other uſeful buildings and erections, a large and good garden and orchards, abounding with the beſt fruit trees. The manſion houſe and eſtate have beautiful and extenſive proſpects, fine avenues, ſeveral of them planted with fruit trees, and other parts with a variety of trees for ornament and uſe. On it is erected at a deſirable diſtance, a good farm houſe, with barns, ſtables, good orchards, gardens, &c. ſuitable for an overſeer to live at, or to let with part of the eſtate, the whole of which conſiſts of good arable, meadow and paſture land, with about 50 acres of timber, in which there are many walnut trees, and adjoining Neſhaminy creek are excellent quarries of ſtone, which may in time be tranſported to Philadelphia by water, has the advantage of fiſhing and fowling, as good roads and neighbourhood as Langhorne Park; to which is added, for the better accommodation of the eſtate, 40 1-2 acres of excellent timber, nearly contiguous, making in the whole 422 ¾ acres and 22 perches of land, and is one mile nearer to the cities of Philadelphia and Burlington and the tide water. This eſtate is ſubject to a leaſe for the life of Joſeph Galloway, Eſq; except the 40 1-2 acres of timber and wood-land, which is in fee ſimple.

3d. BELMONT, on the weſt of No. 2, containing 534 acres 97 perches, conſiſting of excellent arable and paſture land, with a great proportion of wood and meadow, for the accommodation of three farm houſes and three new barns thereon erected. It adjoins Trevoſe and the aforeſaid creek, and is well watered with ſprings, and ſmall ſtreams in abundance, and is capable of great and profitable improvements in huſbandry. For quarries of ſtone, fiſhing and fowling, and good roads, equal to No. 1 and 2. This eſtate to be ſold in fee ſimple.

4th. RICHLEU, adjoining the above on the ſouth-weſt, containing 439 acres 15 perches, one half of which is the beſt timber land, conſiſting of black, white and Spaniſh oak, hickory and cheſnut, the other half good arable and paſture land, with a ſufficient proportion of meadow, that is and can be well watered with never failing ſtreams running through the ſame. There are on the premiſes a large and commodious farm houſe, barns, ſtables and other erections in good order, with large orchards of choice fruit trees, the whole in good repair. The ſoil of this tract is ſtrong and durable, and nearly adjoins on the ſouth to the townſhip of Biberry, an old thick ſettlement, where timber and fuel are ſcarce and dear, and the abundance thereof on this tract will command a great price and immediate pay. This eſtate to be ſold in fee ſimple.

5th. KING's PLACE, conſiſting of 309 acres 10 perches, adjoining No. 4; Belmont and Neſhaminy creek on the north; one half of which may at a ſmall expence be made excellent watered meadow, much being already made, a conſiderable ſtream of water runs through the middle of it, which is well ſupplied by ſprings on each ſide, never known to fail, with fall and ſeat ſufficient for the building and carrying on a griſt-mill to great advantage, it being in the midſt of a fine wheat country, and no mill within ſeveral miles; on the other half is a great proportion of valuable timber, two good young orchards of grafted fruit, two farm houſes, barns, &c. and the arable land excellent in quality. This eſtate to be ſold in fee-ſimple.

6th. Thoſe well known capital eſtates in the townſhip of Durham, viz. The manſion-houſe, kitchen, barns and other edifices, with furnace and mine-hill, coal-houſes and ſtamping-mill, and about 476 acres of excellent arable land and meadow; the plough land having a ſufficient quantity of lime ſtone to manure it, and the meadow rich in ſoil with the advantage of being watered, which makes it equal to any in Pennſylvania in quality and produce, and the quantity is a conſiderable proportion of the whole tract. The ore of the beſt quality, remarkably cloſe and tough, and allowed to be ſo by the firſt iron maſters in England and America, and the quantity ſuppoſed by many good judges to be inexhauſtible.

7th. Adjoining No. 6, contains about 336 acres of arable and meadow land; the firſt abounding with lime ſtone, and produces good wheat and other grain, the meadow advantageouſly watered; and on Durham creek, which runs through it, there is a good mill ſeat. This tract is accommodated with a two ſtory houſe, and other buildings ſuitable for a farm.

8th. Adjoining No. 7, containing about 327 acres of arable land and meadow, with a capital ſeat for a mill, from which is water-carriage for boats of burthen down the river Delaware to Philadelphia, and up to near its ſource. On this lot there is an old accuſtomed ferry, to and from the Jerſies, a little below Muſconekunk creek; it abounds with excellent limeſtone, and has a conſiderable quantity of timber and underwood, a two ſtory houſe, and other buildings, uſeful for a farm: At the Ferry-houſe, travellers are accommodated. This lot is capable of great and profitable improvements; the remainder in fee of the tracts. No. 6, 7 and 8, after the demiſe of Joſeph Galloway, Eſq; is what is now offered for ſale.

9th. A tract of land, containing 100 acres, in Richland townſhip, about 40 miles from Philadelphia, adjoining lands of Mathias Zeigenfus, Samuel Tunis, Bernard Hellers, and the next deſcribed tract, abounding with good timber, ploughland, paſture and meadow, of an excellent quality and well watered. To be ſold in fee ſimple.

10th. A tract, containing 115 acres and 53 perches, adjoining the above and College land; of the ſame quality as above, and a large proportion of rich bottom meadow; has two ſtreams of water through it. To be ſold in fee ſimple.

For prices, and conditions of payment, apply to ABEL JAMES, of the city of Philadelphia, merchant, or CLEMENT BIDDLE, Eſq; of the ſaid city, Notary Public.

Philadelphia, Dec. 1787.

Montgomery county, February 20, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Wedneſday, the 12th of March next, on the premiſes, a certain meſſuage and 117 acres of land, ſituate in the townſhip of Limerick, bounded by lands of Adam Calf, Jacob Peltz, and others; late the property of John Reigner; ſeized and taken in execution, by

FRANCIS SWAINE, Sheriff.

Montgomery county, February 20, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Thurſday, the 13th of March next, on the premiſes, a certain Meſſuage and 200 Acres of Land, or thereabouts, ſituate in the townſhip of Upper Salford, bounded by lands of Anthony Sell, Frederick Miller, and others; late the property of Conrad Zimmerman, deceaſed; ſeized and taken in execution, by FRANCIS SWAINE, Sheriff.

Montgomery county, February 20, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Friday, the 14th of March next, on the premiſes, a certain Meſſuage and 100 Acres of Land, ſituate in Gwined townſhip, bounded by land of Chriſtian Dull and others; late the property of Baltzer Weigh, deceaſed; ſeized and taken in execution, by

FRANCIS SWAINE, Sheriff.

Montgomery county, February 20, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Saturday, the 15th of March next, on the premiſes, a certain Meſſuage and Lot of one Acre and an half of Land, ſituate in the townſhip of Whitpain, bounded by lands of William Ellis, Enoch Marpeles, and others; late the property of Joſeph Dehaven; ſeized and taken in execution, by FRANCIS SWAINE, Sheriff.

Montgomery county, February 20, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Monday, the 17th of March next, on the premiſes, a certain Meſſuage, Fulling-mill, and about 40 Acres of Land, ſituate in the townſhip of Upper Merion, bounded by lands of Thomas Kinſey, Joſeph Williams, and others; late the property of William Cuſter; ſeized and taken in execution, by FRANCIS SWAINE, Sheriff.

Montgomery county, February 20, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Tueſday, the 18th of March next, on the premiſes, a certain Meſſuage and 21 Acres and three quarters of an Acre of Land, at Hickory town; the Houſe has been a long time an accuſtomed tavern; late the eſtate of John Whiteman; ſeized and taken in execution, by

FRANCIS SWAINE, Sheriff.

FOUR DOLLARS Reward.

RAN away, laſt Sunday evening, from the ſubſcriber, in Williſtown, Cheſter county, Pennſylvania, a ſervant boy, named JAMES JONES, about 20 years of age, about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, ſtout made, has a large cut on his left cheek, and when ſpoke to has a treacherous ſmile. Had on, and took with him, the following articles, viz. A round hat, with a wide band and buckle, a red ſpotted cotton handkerchief, blue ſailor's jacket, lined and badly mended with white thread, a red doubled breaſted ditto, one grey ditto, one pair of old buckſkin, and another of new brown clo h breeches, two tow and one linen ſhirts, and ribbed ſtockings; there was likewiſe taken from a man in the houſe, a ſilver ſtock-buckle and ſtock, a pair of new brown yarn ſtockings, and other things. Whoever will ſecure him in any goal, and give information, ſhall have the above reward, and reaſonable charges, paid by

† 1w. WILLIAM HAYMAN.

N. B. It is ſuppoſed that the above runaway is gone in company with one THOMAS HAMILTON, a deceitful crafty fellow, about 35 years of age, of middling ſize, wears a browniſh coat and trowſers, bound with green ferret: He is in debt, and has deceived his creditors---he left my houſe the ſame day ſaid Jones did. It is ſuppoſed they are gone to the Delaware ſtate, or to Maryland. Feb. 20, 1788. W. H.

CAME to Richmond townſhip, in the county of Berks, about ſeven moths ago, a certain Iriſh Lad, who ſays his name is JOHN ROBESON, aged about 13 years, ſays that he was born in the kingdom of Ireland, and that he came to America about the time he came to theſe parts in Berks county; and was brought to Philadelphia, by Captain Lechler, to whom he had paid one guinea and three ſilver dollars for his paſſage from Ireland to America, that he took ſhipping with Captain Lechler in the county of Derry, (the name of the port he ſays he knows not) and was diſcharged at Philadelphia by ſaid Captain Lechler, who ſent him into the country. The boy is fair ſkinned, blackiſh hair, grey eyes, and well built. If he ſhould have abſconded from his maſter, or the Captain, he may be heard of, by making application to the ſubſcriber, in Richmond, which it is expected will be done ſoon, otherwiſe the Boy muſt be bound for the cloathing and maintaining him.

Reading, Jan. 24, 1788. § MARTIN ROTHERMEL.

From the NEW-YORK PACKET.

The FŒDERALIST, No. XVI.

To the PEOPLE *of the State of* NEW-YORK.

THE tendency of the principle of legiſlation for ſtates, or communities, in their political capacities, as it has been exemplified by the experiment we have made of it, is equally atteſted by the events which have befallen all other governments of the confederate kind, of which we have any account, in exact proportion to its prevalence in thoſe ſyſtems. The confirmations of this fact will be worthy a diſtinct and particular examination. I ſhall content myſelf with barely obſerving here, that of all the confederacies of antiquity, which hiſtory has handed down to us, the Lycian and Achæan leagues, as far as there remain veſtiges of them, appear to have been moſt free from the fetters of that miſtaken principle, and were accordingly thoſe which have beſt deſerved, and have moſt liberally received, the applauding ſuffrages of political writers.

This exceptionable principle may as truly as emphatically be ſtiled the parent of anarchy: It has been ſeen that delinquencies in the members of the union are its natural and neceſſary offſpring; and that whenever they happen, the only conſtitutional remedy is force, and the immediate effect of the uſe of it, civil war.

It remains to enquire how far ſo odious an engine of government, in its application to us, would even be capable of anſwering its end. If there ſhould not be a large army, conſtantly at the diſpoſal of the national government, it would either not be able to employ force at all, or, when this could be done, it would amount to a war between different parts of the confederacy, concerning the infractions of a league; in which the ſtrongeſt combination would be moſt likely to prevail, whether it conſiſted of thoſe who ſupported, or of thoſe who reſiſted the general authority. It would rarely happen that the delinquency to be redreſſed would be confined to a ſingle member, and if there were more than one, who had neglected their duty, ſimilarity of ſituation would induce them to unite for common defence. Independent of this motive of ſympathy, if a large and influenced ſtate ſhould happen to be the aggreſſing member, it would commonly have weight enough with its neighbours to win over ſome of them as aſſociates to its cauſe. Specious arguments of danger to the common liberty could eaſily be contrived; plauſible excuſes for the deficiencies of the party could, without difficulty, be invented, to alarm the apprehenſions, inflame the paſſions, and conciliate the good will even of thoſe ſtates which were not chargeable with any violation or omiſſion of duty. This would be the more likely to take place, as the delinquenecis of the larger members might be expected ſometimes to proceed from an ambitious premeditation in their rulers, with a view to get rid of all external controul upon their deſigns of perſonal aggrandizement; the better to effect which, it is preſumable they would tamper beforehand with leading individuals in the adjacent ſtates. If aſſociates could not be found at home, recourſe would be had to the aid of foreign powers, who would ſeldom be diſinclined to encouraging the diſſentions of a confederacy, from the firm union of which they had ſo much to fear. When the ſword is once drawn, the paſſions of men obſerve no bounds of moderation. The ſuggeſtions of wounded pride, the inſtigations of irritated reſentment, would be apt to carry the ſtates, againſt which the arms of the union were exerted, to any extremes neceſſary to revenge the affront, or to avoid the diſgrace of ſubmiſſion. The firſt war of this kind would probably terminate in a diſſolution of the union.

This may be conſidered as the violent death of the confederacy. Its more natural death is what we now ſeem to be on the point of experiencing, if the fœderal ſyſtem be not ſpeedily renovated in a more ſubſtantial form. It is not probable, conſidering the genius of this country, that the complying ſtates would often be inclined to ſupport the authority of the union by engaging in a war againſt the non-complying ſtates. They would always be more ready to purſue the milder courſe of putting themſelves upon an equal footing with the delinquent members, by an imitation of their example. And the guilt of all would thus become the ſecurity of all. Our paſt experience has exhibited the operation of this ſpirit in its full light. There would, in fact, be an inſuperable difficulty in aſcertaining when force could with propriety be employed. In the article of pecuniary contribution, which would be the moſt uſual ſource of delinquency, it would often be impoſſible to decide whether it had proceeded from diſinclination, or inability. The pretence of the latter would always be at hand. And the caſe muſt be very flagrant in which its fallacy could be detected with ſufficient certainty to juſtify the harſh expedient of compulſion. Is is eaſy to ſee that this problem alone, as often as it ſhould occur, would open a wide field for the exerciſe of factious views, of partiality and oppreſſion, in the majority that happened to prevail in the national council.

It ſeems to require no pains to prove that the ſtates ought not to prefer a national conſtitution, which could only be kept in motion by the inſtrumentality of a large army, continually on foot to execute the ordinary requiſitions or decrees of the government. And yet this is the plain alternative involved by thoſe who wiſh to deny it the power of extending its operations to individuals. Such a ſcheme, if practicable at all, would inſtantly degenerate into a military deſpotiſm; but it will be found in every light impracticable. The reſources of the union would not be equal to the maintenance of an army conſiderable enough to confine the larger ſtates within the limits of their duty; nor would the means ever be furniſhed of forming ſuch an army in the firſt inſtance. Whoever conſiders the populouſneſs and ſtrength of ſeveral of theſe ſtates ſingly at the preſent juncture, and looks forward to what they will become, even at the diſtance of half a century, will at once diſmiſs as idle and viſionary any ſcheme, which aims at regulating their movements by laws, to operate upon them in their collective capacities, and to be executed by a coercion applicable to them in the ſame capacities. A project of this kind is little leſs romantic than that monſter-taming ſpirit, which is attributed to the fabulous heroes and demi-gods of antiquity.

Even in thoſe confederacies, which have been compoſed of members ſmaller than many of our counties, the principle of legiſlation for ſovereign ſtates, ſupported by military coercion, has never been found effectual. It has rarely been attempted to be employed, but againſt the weaker members: And in moſt inſtances attempts to coerce the refractory and diſobedient, have been the ſignals of bloody wars; in which the one half of the confederacy has diſplayed its banners againſt the other half.

The reſult of theſe obſervations to an intelligent mind muſt be clearly this, that if it be poſſible at any rate to conſtruct a fœderal government capable of regulating the common concerns and preſerving the general tranquility, it muſt be founded, as to the objects committed to its care, upon the reverſe of the principle contended for by the oppoſers of the propoſed conſtitution.

It muſt carry its agency to the perſons of the citizens. It muſt ſtand in need of no intermediate legiſlations; but muſt itſelf be empowered to employ the arm of the ordinary magiſtrate to execute its own reſolutions. The majeſty of the national authority muſt be manifeſted through the medium of the courts of juſtice. The government of the union, like that of each ſtate, muſt be able to addreſs itſelf immediately to the hopes and fears of individuals; and to attract to its ſupport, thoſe paſſions, which have the ſtrongeſt influence upon the human heart. It muſt, in ſhort, poſſeſs all the means and have a right to reſort to all the methods of executing the powers, with which it is entruſted, that are poſſeſſed and exerciſed by the governments of the particular ſtates.

To this reaſoning it may perhaps be objected, that if any ſtate ſhould be diſaffected to the authority of the union, it could at any time obſtruct the execution of its laws, and bring the matter to the ſame iſſue of force, with the neceſſity of which the oppoſite ſcheme is reproached.

The plauſibility of this objection will vaniſh the moment we advert to the eſſential difference between a mere NON COMPLIANCE and a DIRECT and ACTIVE RESISTANCE. If the interpoſition of the ſtate legiſlatures be neceſſary to give effect to a meaſure of the union, they have only NOT TO ACT, or TO ACT EVASIVELY, and the meaſure is defeated. This neglect of duty may be diſguiſed under affected but unſubſtantial proviſions, ſo as not to appear, and of courſe not to excite any alarm in the people for the ſafety of the conſtitution. The ſtate leaders may even make a merit of their ſurreptitious invaſions of it, on the ground of ſome temporary convenience, exemption or advantage.

But if the execution of the laws of the national government ſhould not require the intervention of the ſtate legiſlatures; if they were to paſs into immediate operation upon the citizens themſelves, the particular governments could not interrupt their progreſs without an open and violent exertion of an unconſtitutional power. No omiſſions, nor evaſions would anſwer the end. They would be obliged to act, and in ſuch a manner, as would leave no doubt that they had encroached on the national rights. An experiement of this nature would always be hazardous---in the face of a conſtitution in any degree competent to its own defence, and of a people enlightened enough to diſtinguiſh between a legal exerciſe and an illegal uſurpation of authority. The ſucceſs of it would require not merely a factious majority in the legiſlature, but the concurrence of the courts of juſtice, and of the body of the people. If the judges were not embarked in a conſpiracy with the legiſlature, they would pronounce the reſolutions of ſuch a majority to be contrary to the ſupreme law of the land, unconſtitutional and void. If the people were not tainted with the ſpirit of their ſtate repreſentatives, they, as the natural guardians of the conſtitution, would throw their weight into the national ſcale, and give it a decided preponderancy in the conteſt. Attempts of this kind would not often be made with liberty or raſhneſs; becauſe they could ſeldom be made without danger to the authors, unleſs in caſes of a tyrannical exerciſe of the fœderal authority.

If oppoſition to the national government ſhould ariſe from the diſorderly conduct of refractory, or ſeditious individuals, it could be overcome by the ſame means which are daily employed againſt the ſame evil, under the ſtate governments. The magiſtracy, being equally the miniſters of the law of the land, from whatever ſource it might emanate, would doubtleſs be as ready to guard the national as the local regulations from the inroads of private licentiouſneſs. As to thoſe partial commotions and inſurrections which ſometimes diſquiet ſociety, from the intrigues of an inconſiderable faction, or from ſudden or occaſional ill humours that do not infect the great body of the community, the general government could command more extenſive reſources for the ſuppreſſion of diſturbances of that kind, than would be in the power of any ſingle member. And as to thoſe mortal feuds, which in certain conjunctures ſpread a conflagration through a whole nation, or through a very large proportion of it, proceeding either from weighty cauſes of diſcontent given by the government, or from the contagion of ſome violent popular paroxiſm, they do not fall within any ordinary rules of calculation. When they happen, they commonly amount to revolutions and diſmemberments of empire. No form of government can always either avoid or controul them. It is in vain to hope to guard againſt events too mighty for human foreſight or precaution, and it would be idle to object to a government, becauſe it could not perform impoſſibilities.

PUBLIUS.

NUMBER IV.

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends and Countrymen,

IN the addreſs of the minority of the Pennſylvania Convention they convey an idea to their conſtituents, that the propoſed fœderal conſtitution endangers *religious liberty!* The moſt careful examination of the powers to be veſted in Congreſs will not enable us to diſcover *one* clauſe, by which the fœderal legiſlature can interfere in religious affairs. The Convention have carefully avoided inveſting them with any authority of that nature, in my opinion, from the pureſt and wiſeſt reaſons. Firſt, becauſe they are matters in which neither national governments nor foreigners (with whom they are to treat) have ever interfered from the begining of the world, but at the expence of the rights of *a part*, or the peace of *the whole* of the people: Secondly, becauſe the United States having no *national church* either in *preſent exiſtence* or in *contemplation*, it is evidently one of thoſe domeſtic points, in which the intervention of the fœderal government cannot ever be neceſſary or proper: And laſtly, becauſe, I preſume, much the greater part of the Convention were averſe to the interference of *human* authority in forming laws concerning matters of conſcience, remembering that even the omnipotent Creator of the univerſe has granted FREE WILL to man. Conſcience was given us for our guide by the wiſdom and goodneſs of the Deity, to whom *alone* we are reſponſible. Duly ſenſible of this, the Convention have rejected, as ſacrilegious, all human interpoſition. To guard this ſacred ſubject from the conſequences of miſconception or abuſe, they have taken due care, that no ſtate or church ſhall introduce their religious opinions or deſigns into the councils of the union, by ſubmitting to the people the propriety of an abſolute excluſion of *religious teſts* from the fœderal ſyſtem. Here, we cannot omit to obſerve, is an highly important and influential power, remaining with the ſtate governments, which Congreſs can in no way exerciſe: And tho' we muſt conſider it as paſſing beyond the due bounds of human authority, and as treſpaſſing on *the rights of conſcience and free will* of man, which God himſelf has vouchſafed to beſtow, yet certain it is that ſeveral of the ſtate governments do at this time inconſiderately exerciſe this power.

Two co-ordinate ſovereignties, ſay the minority, would be a ſoleciſm in politics. Were we to grant this, it would be nothing in favor of their argument. The fœderal government and the ſtate governments are neither co-ordinate, co-equal, nor even ſimilar. They are of *different natures*. The general government is *fœderal*, or an union of *ſovereignties*, for *ſpecial* purpoſes. The ſtate governments are *ſocial*, or an aſſociation of *individuals*, for *all* the purpoſes of ſociety and government. It is ſaid, the greater will ſwallow up the leſſer. Then let the fœderal government take care, for it is ſurely leſs powerful than the ſtate governments *combined*. Without the ſtate governments, that of the union can have no power, ſince the latter is *created* by them---but the ſtate governments have and ever muſt have much *ſeparate and independent power*, and do not derive, from the fœderal government, any part of what they poſſeſs.

The minority, with how much candor I will not ſay, have cut down the fœderal government to twenty-ſix men. But, however, the total number of the Preſident, Vice-Preſident, Senators and Repreſentatives, ſtill continue to be ninety-three. If all but a bare quorum of both houſes will make it a point to abſent themſelves from their public duty, and if thoſe who are preſent will take care to ſplit as much as poſſible upon great queſtions, and if *all* the majority of both houſes will agree to ſell their conſciences and votes, the evils the minority deprecate might be apprehended. But ſurely this is not a rational diſquiſition and diſcuſſion of a government for the information of the people. It is raiſing bugbears, with which *a child in politics* will not be ſcared.

We are told alſo, that beſides the danger of bribery, the repreſentation is in itſelf too ſmall, and the ſame mode (not of reaſoning but) of writing is uſed. Will not the ſeveral ſtates then, beſides their fœderal ſenators and repreſentatives, have near two thouſand ſtate repreſentatives? Will not *all* theſe be acquainted with the intereſts and the feelings of the people? Will not the laws made by the fœderal legiſlature operate alike upon the life, liberty, property and deareſt concerns, of the repreſentative and ſenator, their families and friends, and upon the leaſt conſiderable citizen of their reſpective ſtates? and does not every man ſee that the preſent fœderal ſyſtem, having a great controuling houſe of repreſentatives, choſen by the people, gives them a certainty of having their juſt feelings and deareſt concerns more minutely attended to, than was poſſible under the old fœderal conſtitution, the executors of which were *all* choſen by the ſtate legiſlatures. Does not this tenaciouſneſs of ſome of the ſtate legiſlators about the powers of the bodies to which they belong evince a greater attachment to their own ſeats, than to the intereſts of their conſtituents. Accuſtomed to monopolize the power of appointing the members of the fœderal government, they are averſe to *ſharing* it even with the people.

The length of time for which a repreſentative may ſerve is alſo objected to by the minority. If the inconvenience attending too frequent changes and other circumſtances render it proper to continue the members of the Virginia and Pennſylvania legiſlatures a year in their ſeats, this wide extended continent, by the rule of proportion, might juſtify an allowance of ſix or ſeven years to the fœderal repreſentatives; but, for wiſe reaſons, their exiſtence has been confined to two. We have few men of that general information, which is neceſſary to make laws requiring a knowledge of the relation of the ſtates to one another, and of the confederacy to foreign countries. The ſyſtems of foreign and domeſtic commerce, manufactures, and other general objects, will require two years for a wiſe man to attain. Much time and great expence will be neceſſary in going to and from the capital of the union to Georgia or New-Hampſhire, and we are not to forget the moſt remote parts have as full a ſhare of rights and privileges as the moſt near.

The fears of the ſtate governments and of the people at large, concerning the propoſed conſtitution, have been excited on the ſame ground and in the ſame language, that would be applied againſt the introduction of a foreign prince. If conſiderable powers are given to the fœderal government, it ſhould be remembered, that the people chuſe one branch, and the ſtate legiſlatures the other, and that every officer of the fœderal government muſt be a qualified citizen of ſome one of the ſtates---that his office and power are temporary--and that the right and power of chuſing his ſucceſſor remains fully in the ſtate legiſlatures, or the people, even during the time he holds his office. If our ſtate governments are republican, then will their repreſentatives (the ſenators) be republican alſo. The power and right of framing our conſtitutions on pure and genuine republican principles lie with the people; for, tho' Congreſs can fruſtrate attempts to introduce into them either monarchy or ariſtocracy, they cannot annul any republican clauſe, however purely ſo it may be. Comparing the fœderal and ſtate conſtitutions as they now are, the fœderal conſtitution is the moſt truly republican, for there is no qualification of property required by the latter, either for the electors or thoſe to be elected, while many of the ſtate conſtitutions render a certain and viſible property abſolutely neceſſary.

Tho' no profeſſed anſwer to the addreſs of our minority has appeared, yet much of the reaſonings and facts contained in it have been refuted, explained and diſproved, in the ſeveral publications and ſpeeches which the ſubject has produced. Much of their reaſonings and poſitions have likewiſe been contradicted by the opinions and objections, that have been adduced by the oppoſers of the fœderal conſtitution in other ſtates. I ſhall therefore purſue the ſubject at preſent no further, truſting, that as the conventions of ſix ſtates have already been uninfluenced by the conſiderations they have urged, and as ſeveral other ſtates have given unequivocal proofs of the ſame diſpoſition, they will, in a manly, honorable way, acquieſce in the great fundamental rule of all free governments, and conſider THE VOICE OF THE MAJORITY AS THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND.

A PENNSYLVANIAN.

BOSTON, *February* 7.

Tueſday forenoon a motion, which had been expected for ſome days, was made by Mr. G. Dench, to this purport---That for the purpoſe of informing the good people of this commonwealth of the principles of the propoſed conſtitution, and the amendments offered by his excellency the preſident, this convention do adjourn to a future day. This motion occaſioned much debate---it was warmly advocated by the gentlemen who are againſt the adoption of the conſtitution, and ſtrongly oppoſed by the friends of the propoſed ſyſtem. The queſtion on the motion was taken in the evening, when his excellency the preſident, he ſaid, had the great pleaſure to declare, that the motion for adjournment had not obtained---the whole number of voters being 329

In favor of the motion	115
Againſt it	214
Majority againſt adjourning	99

NEW-HAVEN, *February* 14.

On Monday laſt, at five o'clock, P. M. arrived in this city, authentic intelligence of the ratification of the conſtitution by the convention of Maſſachuſetts. On this pleaſing and important event, the bells were rung and a ſalute of 13 rounds was fired, followed by three huzzas from a large concourſe of people who had aſſembled on the occaſion, and teſtified their hearty approbation of the conduct of their good old friend and neighbour, who is ſo nearly allied to Connecticut in good ſenſe and ſound republican principles.---It was a pleaſing circumſtance, that the hon. Rufus King, Eſq; arrived here, on his way from Boſton to New-York, while the ſalute was firing, and was a witneſs to the joy excited among us by the conduct of his native ſtate.

NEW-YORK, *February* 16.

We are happy in having it in our power to communicate to our readers the authentic and agreeable intelligence of the adoption of the New Conſtitution by the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts.

The friends of America will no doubt conſider this event as a moſt propitious omen of the riſing proſpect of American greatneſs, when they conſider that a SIXTH ſtate has already ratified a Conſtitution, which, in its formation, has employed the wiſdom of the moſt diſtinguiſhed patriots of the Thirteen States; and which, when candidly examined in all its parts by the repreſentatives of ſix of theſe ſtates, has been found to be well calculated to promote unity, peace and harmony throughout the whole.

Upon the arrival of this agreeable intelligence in this city, the inhabitants in general diſcovered every appearance of heartfelt joy.---At ſun-riſe on Thurſday, an elegant flag was hoiſted at the Coffee-houſe, in which the following words were inſerted, *The Conſtitution, September* 17, 1787. At noon another flag, repreſenting a Pine Tree, appeared at the ſame place, with theſe words, *Boſton, February* 9, 1788. At twelve o'clock ſix times thirteen guns were fired, in honor of the ſix ſtates that had adopted the conſtitution. A Union Flag was diſplayed at the fort, and the different veſſels in the harbour diſcovered every appearance of rejoicing, by hoiſting their flags.

When we conſider that this conſtitution has in every ſtate where it has been hitherto examined been readily adopted, and that by a reſpectable majority, we have great reaſon to hope that the time is not far diſtant, when the Americans, being repreſented by one general and permanent government, will ſpeedily riſe to that dignity and conſequence amongſt the nations of the world, as muſt always attend a free, virtuous and powerful people.

Feb. 18. On Saturday laſt, a number of reſpectable citizens celebrated, at the Merchant's Coffee-houſe, the *ratification* of the *New Conſtitution* by the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts. Several of the honorable the members of Congreſs and the Mayor of the city, did them the honor of partaking of their repaſt; which (in the true republican ſtyle) conſiſted of only two articles---Beef and Salt Fiſh. The general joy which was diffuſed over every countenance on this occaſion was a deciſive proof, that the conduct of Maſſachuſetts would enſure the ratification of this excellent conſtitution, not only in this, but every other ſtate of the union.

After dinner the following toaſts were drank, under the fire of ſix guns to each toaſt, in honor of thoſe ſtates which had adopted the conſtitution.

1ſt. The Conſtitution---may it prove the ſolid fabric of American Liberty, Proſperity and Glory.

2d. The Fœderal Convention---may their Virtue, Wiſdom and Firmneſs, be deeply engraven on the hearts of their countrymen.

3d. The State of Delaware.

4th. The State of Pennſylvania.

5th. The State of New-Jerſey.

6th. The State of Connecticut.

7th. The State of Georgia.

8th. The State of Maſſachuſetts.

9th. May the Patriotic Declarations of the Minorities of Connecticut and Maſſachuſetts ſerve as an example throughout the Union.

10th. The Friends of the Conſtitution throughout the States.

11th. The State of New-York---may it ſoon become an additional Pillar to the *new Roof*.

12th. Union to the States, and confuſion to the enemies of it.

13th. General Waſhington---may his Wiſdom and Virtue preſide in the Councils of his Country.

The utmoſt order and good humour prevailed throughout the whole of the entertainment; and about nine o'clock in the evening the company broke up, under the impreſſion, that thoſe who had been oppoſed to the new conſtitution in this ſtate would be convinced (after the candid and able diſcuſſion of it by their eaſtern neighbours) that their jealouſies were ill-founded; and that their own reputation, as well as the welfare of the ſtate, would be beſt promoted by imitating the patriotic conduct of the minority of Maſſachuſetts.

By a gentleman from London, we are informed that Lewis Littlepage, Eſquire, Chamberlain to his Majeſty the King of Poland, is appointed Miniſter Plenipotentiary, from the court of Warſaw, to that of Verſailles.

PHILADELPHIA, February 27.

A MESSAGE *from the* PRESIDENT *and the* SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, *to the* GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Gentlemen,

WE ſincerely congratulate your Honorable Houſe on the ratification of the Fœderal Conſtitution by the Convention of this ſtate ſince your laſt receſs, and we flatter ourſelves that its adoption will be attended with important good conſequences to all the ſtates in the Union.

In compliance with your reſolution of the 13th of November laſt, we have obtained, and now lay before the General Aſſembly, deſcriptions of the lands lying between the northern boundary of this ſtate and Lake Erie, with an eſtimate of the ſums which will probably be neceſſary for the purchaſes of the ſame, as will appear by the papers marked No. 1 and 2, to which we beg leave to refer. We have likewiſe wrote to our Delegates in Congreſs relative to the eſtimate---their anſwer, as ſoon as it comes to hand, will be tranſmitted to your Houſe.

A revenue law of this ſtate, paſſed the 25th day of September, 1783, requiring merchants who re-ſhip goods from Philadelphia to produce within one year certificates of the goods being actually landed at the port of deſtination, appears to bear hard on the trade of this port---we therefore recommend a reviſal of the aforeſaid revenue act, when the merchants will have an opportunity of laying the particular inconveniencies before your Houſe.

The officers of the Land-Office do not conſider themſelves authorized by the preſent laws to grant re-locating warrants, in caſes where warrants, on which the purchaſe-money has been paid, are deprived of land by prior grants---we are of opinion, that this power ought to be given; as the time may come, when vacant lands will not remain for them, and in that caſe the owners may call on the ſtate for compenſation.

The granting of land in the late purchaſe has nearly ceaſed, and we are apprehenſive that this fund will continue unproductive, until the terms of the new purchaſe are lowered---a meaſure which we therefore recommend.

Great miſtakes have been committed by the Orphans Courts of the different counties of this ſtate, reſpecting penſions; particularly in providing for the ſupport of the widows and orphans of militia-men who fell in the late war---this power, in the opinion of Council, ought to be lodged in more proper hands, and its deciſions thereby rendered more uniform.

The continual depreciation of our paper money merits the moſt ſerious attention of your Honorable Houſe---This circumſtance alone diffuſes langour and embarraſſment through the whole executive department of government---contracts cannot be compleated for the making of roads, or any other public buſineſs, without either riſquing the honor of government, or acting on an implied depreciation of money, ſituations equally irkſome and ineligible. We cannot help ſuggeſting the propriety of more ſpeedily deſtroying as much of it as is in the power of the treaſury.

The time limited by law for compleating titles for lands held under office rights, obtained before the 10th day of December, 1776, expires on the 10th day of April next---we are of opinion that the extenſion of that period is neceſſary.

The benefits expected from the penal law having not equalled the benevolent wiſhes of its friends and framers, we recommend ſuch alterations to be made in it as ſhall be calculated to render puniſhment a means of reformation, and the labour of criminals of profit to the ſtate. Late experiments in Europe have demonſtrated that thoſe advantages are only to be obtained by temperance, and ſolitude of labour.

The act, entituled "An Act appointing Wardens for the port of Philadelphia, &c." paſſed the 26th day of February, 1773, having by experience been found uſeful, and being on the point of expiring, we recommend an immediate renewal of the ſame for a further term, with ſuch improvements as may occur to you.

We again recommend to the notice of your Honorable Houſe the reſolution of Congreſs, paſſed March 21, 1787, and beg leave to ſuggeſt the propriety of paſſing a declaratory act, to anſwer the end intended by the ſaid reſolution.

The lateſt accounts from the county of Luzerne, communicated to us by Colonel Pickering, repreſent the ſettlement as being in perfect quietneſs at preſent, and that the laws of this ſtate have their free operation.

We have now the pleasure of laying before you a map of the northern boundary of this state, as run by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, who have compleated that useful work. We also herewith communicate a letter from his Excellency Samuel Huntington, Esq; Governor of the state of Connecticut, in consequence of which we have mitigated the severity of John Franklin's confinement as much as circumstances would warrant----An act of the legislature of Virginia, concerning the Convention to be held in June next, transmitted by his Excellency the Governor of Virginia---And a letter from the Honorable Arthur St. Clair, Esq;---which we beg leave to recommend to the notice of your Honorable House.

B. FRANKLIN.

Council Chamber, Philad. Feb. 21, 1788.

A correspondent observes, that the congratulations on the adoption of the new Federal Constitution, contained in the message of his Excellency the President and the Honorable the Supreme Executive Council of this Commonwealth to the Honorable the General Assembly, is a most agreeable proof of the sentiments of that board, which, consisting of a member from every county in the state, affords a new mark of approbation by the representatives of Pennsylvania.

Our last paper announced to our friends the patriotic, temperate and manly conduct of the minority of the Massachusetts Convention. We are happy in being able to inform them, that the eastern papers give us an authoritative assurance that the Honorable Eldridge Gerry, Esq; of that state, who declined to sign the recommendation of the new Constitution in the Federal Convention, now declares, since it has received the sanction of the majority of the people, that he will firmly support it.

It appears, by the proceedings of the South-Carolina legislature, that every man in both Houses (the Senate and the Assembly) were in favor of the new Constitution. As their legislature is much the most numerous in the union, in proportion to their number of free white inhabitants, this extraordinary unanimity affords an indubitable proof that we shall very soon reckon South-Carolina among the members of the *new confederacy*. Their legislature must consist of above 200 persons, for Charleston has 30 members. It may be justly said, South-Carolina is an opulent, enlightened, and yet a very rising state. Their Convention will meet on Monday next, the third day of March.

We are authorised to assure the public, that the letter from London, of 4th December 1787, published in our last, which speaks of the new Constitution as much approved by all our countrymen in England, and by every friendly Englishman there, is from an American gentleman in the employment of the United States, now in that capital. We are requested to insert this paragraph, because one of an opposite nature appeared lately in one of the public news papers of this city.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Wilmington, to his friend in this city, dated February 19, 1788.

"Be pleased to accept many thanks for thy very obliging letter of the 17th, and my hearty congratulations on the Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the state of Massachusetts. It is indeed an event that promises most happy consequences-----that America will now enjoy peace, liberty and safety-----be united at home, and respectable abroad. My hopes are enlivened. I look upon my children with an encreased satisfaction, because their lot in life seems to me to be rendered more favourable by the prospect of public felicity.

"May the gracious Providence, that has preserved us through so many dangers, difficulties and distresses, lead us into an establishment and conduct of beneficial influence to our fellow creatures in the other parts of the world."

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Manchester, to his friend in this city, dated October 16, 1787.

"We have a new goal now erecting here, according to the instructions of that truly great and good man Mr. Howard, in which criminals are to be punished by *solitary* confinement and *hard labor*. Mr. Howard is preparing for the press an interesting work upon the subject of Lazarettoes and the Plague.

"I am anxious to hear the result of the Convention now held at Philadelphia, for the melioration of your federal government. Under the auspices of Dr. Franklin and General Washington, every thing good is expected.

"Mr. Clarkson is expected very soon. He has been some time at Liverpool, collecting information concerning the capture, purchase and treatment of slaves, and on the influence of this inhuman traffic upon health, life and morals. Mr. Wilberforce has pledged himself to bring forward a parliamentary enquiry into it the ensuing winter, and I trust its regulation, and eventually its abolition, will be accomplished. A subscription has been opened in this town to support the benevolent objects of Mr. Wilberforce, who acts in concert with a very respectable society in London; and I yesterday signed a petition, with many others, to the clergy of Manchester, to exert themselves in this laudable undertaking."

A motion was lately made and seconded in the House of Representatives of South-Carolina, that leave be given to bring in a bill to authorize the importation of negroes. On the question being put to agree to the same, it passed in the negative.

Extract of a letter from Wicklow, December 16.

"On Tuesday night last, a fine ship, called the Peace and Plenty, of Boston, 270 tons burthen, Robert Bawriel master, and 13 men, bound from Liverpool to Boston, laden with white salt, coals, earthen-ware and haberdashery, struck on Wicklow Banks, and overset. Her rudder and counter being torn away, she instantly filled with water, and six men were lost. She floated on her beam ends till Friday morning, when she grounded, about three miles to the southward of Wicklow-Head, where four of the eight men who had held to her shrouds were washed off, but the master and three men were about nine o'clock in the morning miraculously saved by a boat, whose crew, at the instance of Mr. Eccles, under whose house the vessel grounded, ventured through a great surf and heavy swell, and brought them on shore to Mr. Eccles's, by whose uncommon humanity and hospitality they were with difficulty recovered, and who generously rewarded the crew of the boat who so gallantly ventured their lives for the poor mens preservation."

The ship Dublin Packet is arrived at Dublin.

His Britannic Majesty's Packet Speedy, Robert Coatsworth, Esq; Commander, will positively sail with the mail from New-York for Falmouth, on Thursday, the 6th of March.

The mail will be closed at 9 o'clock the preceding evening.

She will touch at Halifax, and remain there 48 hours only.

A Nassau (New-Providence) paper of the 19th ult. has the following paragraph: "On the 3d inst. Capt. Thomas Thomson, in the sloop Sally, bearing up from the southwest point of Henegua for Watering-Bay, saw a white flag hoisted on the shore; he immediately hoisted out his yaul and went to the place, where he found 23 women and 53 men and boys, in a most distressed situation. They informed him they had been passengers on board the brig Chance, commanded by John Stafford, from Dunlary, in Ireland, bound for Charleston and Baltimore, in North-America; that after being three months out, and having been for six weeks on short allowance, they were landed on that desolate island in the evening of the 30th December: That the Captain, previous to his putting them on shore, informed them that the island was Trinidada, in which there were three towns and many settlements, and that they might easily get from thence to any part of America: That on their being landed, and finding neither inhabitants nor settlements, they determined to return on board, but on approaching the boat a musket was fired at them, which killed one of their number. They also mentioned that 32 persons had died on the passage. Capt. Thomson arrived here on Saturday with 56 of these unfortunate people; 20 of them were landed on Long-Island."

A certain Isaiah Whitcraft, who lived near the Lake Tavern, in Gloucester county, New-Jersey, having been confined in Burlington goal for a variety of robberies, broke goal and escaped to his own neighbourhood: The goaler having offered a reward of 40 dollars for apprehending him, William Fowler and Jonathan Smith went to his house to apprehend him. Finding the doors shut, they went each to a door; when Fowler attempted to force in, and having got the door partly open, Whitcraft presented a loaded musket to his breast, declaring he would shoot him, if he came any further. Fowler replied, he might shoot if he dared, for that his party would take him, and called out to break open the other door; on which Whitcraft delivered up his musket, which was loaded with 17 buck-shot, but by address afterwards made his escape. On the Sunday following, the third of February, this resolute and brave character, William Fowler, and his companion Smith, having armed themselves, again attempted to take the thief; when having got near to Whitcraft's house, he discoved them, and ran off with a musket and tomahawk in his hands. Fowler and Smith pursued, and after running near half a mile, Fowler was likely to overtake him, and having got within 20 yards of him, Whitcraft turned and presented his gun at Fowler, who then called to him not to fire, for that he was determined to take him, but would not hurt him; on which Whitcraft swore he would fire, and immediately did, and wounded Fowler in the cheek, the ball having glanced the jaw-bone. Smith instantly fired on Whitcraft, and put a charge of buck-shot through him, who, notwithstanding, got up, and attempted to tomahawk Smith. Whitcraft immediately after fell, and died in about an hour. Future villains may now see, however safe they may think themselves by being armed in the pines, that there are men who will brave the greatest danger to take them. Fowler and Smith surrendered themselves to Colonel Joseph Hugg, and were bailed.

By the UNITED STATES *in* CONGRESS *assembled,*
February 12, 1788.

RESOLVED, That the Secretary for foreign affairs for the time being be, and he is hereby authorised and directed, upon application made to him for that purpose, to grant in the usual form sea letters for any vessel or vessels owned entirely and navigated chiefly by citizens of the United States, and bound on long and distant voyages, at his discretion; provided always that it be made appear to him by oath or affirmation, or by such other evidence as shall by him be deemed satisfactory, by the person or persons applying therefor, that the vessel or vessels for which such sea letters shall be required, shall, together with all and every part of her cargo, be owned entirely and commanded by officers, citizens of the United States, and shall be navigated for the most part by the same. That for this purpose, the Secretary for foreign affairs be, and he is hereby instructed to procure a sufficient number of blank sea letters, draughted in the usual form and signed by the President of Congress, for the purposes aforesaid; and that the same when filled up be sealed with the seal of the United States, and certified by the Secretary of Congress.

2 CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

On the Death of CHARLES PEMBERTON, *a youth of twelve years of age.*

CHEARFUL, resign'd, the youth retires,
From pomp and worldly din,
The rapt'rous sound of angels lyres
Made harmony within---
Pleas'd with the strain, he, ardent, strove
To gain the blest abode;
And sighed out his soul in love,
To meet his parent God.

On the Death of CHARLES PEMBERTON.

NIP'D in the bud, here fell the beaut'ous youth,
Whose heart was fraught with innocence and truth.
For him forgive the sympathetic tear,
We ask of those who tenderness revere?
If aught in life can justify our grief,
Or lend assistance, when we ask relief;
Think that in him, the best of men you see;
Such, had he liv'd, he promised to be:
Quick sensibility in him you'd find;
A heart that's generous and exalted mind;
A heart that ever felt another's woe,
And in his own, his tears forgot to flow:
Such were the feelings of his noble breast,
And such the fortitude by him possest.
His chearful hours with innocence were crown'd;
For nought but virtue in his breast was found.
But why repeat what makes his mem'ry dear?
And from another's eye extort a tear:
A parent's hope, a tender mother's care,
The dearest pledge of mut'al love sincere;
O'er the fond corps, sisters and brothers weep,
And fain would close their eyes in endless sleep;
But Heaven in mercy spares such tender plants,
To live the comfort of a parent's wants;
And to reward them for their filial love,
Prepares them mansions with the blest above.

*** *The Overseers of the Poor will deliver out* BREAD *to the Poor of the City and Liberties, at the Court House,* TO-MORROW MORNING, *at Ten o'Clock.* *Feb.* 27.

TO BE LET,

And may be entered on the first of April next,

A STONE Dwelling-House, with a Store adjoining, counters and shelves affixed, a good garden, orchard, stable, and chair house, within ten miles of Philadelphia, on the Ridge-road, near Adam Schnider's tavern; for terms, apply to JACOB VANREED, Philadelphia, or to the subscriber, on the premises.

Feb. 25, 1788. ‡ HENRY KNAUS.

Burlington county, state of New-Jersey.

WHEREAS a certain RICHARD MASON, of the city of Philadelphia, merchant, has obtained two obligations from the subscribers, one from WILLIAM KAIN, for Twenty-seven or Twenty-eight Pounds, I am not certain which, but it is near one or the other, likewise one from JOHN KAIN, for Eighteen Pounds, but as the copy of the sums and the certain time that they become payable is mislaid and cannot be found, this is to inform the public, that they both become due this present spring in the year 1788; which obligations were given as the consideration for a certain tract of land, which the said Richard Mason affirmed to lay in Harrison county, in the state of Virginia; the said Richard Mason also bound himself, his heirs, executors, or administrators, in a certain obligation, to make unto the said William Kain, a good and sufficient indisputable title in fee, with a general warrantee, in the space of four weeks from the 27th day of January 1787, which he hath not done according to the late laws of Virginia. We the subscribers do therefore warn all persons against taking assignments of the said obligations, or either of them, as we are determined not to pay them. Witness our hands, this 18th day of February, 1788.

WILLIAM KAIN, Fuller,
§ JOHN KAIN, Fuller.

Philadelphia, February 18, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas to me directed, will be exposed to sale, by public vendue, at the Coffee House, in the city of Philadelphia, on Saturday, the first day of March next, at six o'clock in the evening---The following annuities and Lots of Ground, viz.

No. 1. A certain yearly Rent Charge or sum of £15, issuing and payable out of a Lot of Ground, situate on the west side of Delaware Second street continued, and south side of Christian street, in the district of Southwark, in the county of Philadelphia, containing in breadth on said Second street 40 feet, and in length westward, along Christian street, 110 feet; bounded eastward by Second street aforesaid, westward by an alley feet wide, northward by Christian street, and southward by ground of George Knew: on said lot is erected a large frame messuage, now in the tenure of Frederick Deitz.

No. 2. One other yearly Rent Charge of 20 Crowns, issuing and payable out of a certain Lot of Ground, containing in front on Second street 20 feet, and in length or depth about 110 feet, situate in the district of Southwark aforesaid; bounded on the north by ground of Frederick Deitz, on the south by ground of James Smith, on the east by Second street, and on the west by an alley called -----; in the possession of George Knew: on said lot is erected a new two story frame messuage.

No. 3. A Lot of Ground situate in Southwark aforesaid, containing in front on Second street 20 feet, and in length or depth 110 feet, or thereabouts; bounded on the east by Second street, on the west by an alley called-----; on the north by George Knew's ground, on the south by ----- Stillie's ground.

No. 4. One other yearly Rent Charge of £13 3 6, issuing out of a lot of ground on the south side of South or Cedar-street, in the district of Southwark aforesaid, in the square between Second and George-streets, containing 15 feet and 6 inches in front on South-street, and 58 feet 6 inches in depth; bounded eastward by a 4 feet alley, westward by the widow Robinson's lot, northward by South-street, and southward by Hugh Lenox's corner lot; on which is erected a two story frame messuage and other improvements.

No. 5. One other Rent Charge of £5 per annum, issuing and payable out of a lot of ground in possession of Jacob Keaser, containing 17 feet and 8 inches on Christian-street, and in length or depth 80 feet; bounded on the east by James Smith's ground, on the west by ----- Weaver, on the south by ----- Stillie's ground, and on the north by Christian-street; on said lot is erected a frame messuage.

No. 6. Also one other yearly Rent Charge of £5 per annum, issuing and payable out of a lot of ground in possession of ------- Weaver, containing 16 feet 8 inches front on Christian-street aforesaid, and in length or depth 80 feet; bounded on the east by Jacob Keaser's ground, on the west by ----- Levy's ground, on the south by ---- Stillie's ground, and on the north by Christian-street aforesaid; on said lot is erected a two story frame messuage.

No. 7. About three acres and an half of marsh meadow ground, situate in the township of Moyamensing, and bounded by lands of William Shipley, Samuel Rhoads, deceased, and others; taken in execution as the property of Robert Smith (Carpenter) late deceased, and to be sold, by

JOSEPH COWPERTHWAIT, Sheriff.

N. B. The above Annuities on Christian-street are subject to a yearly Ground-rent of £8 per annum, payable to the Church Wardens of the Swedish Lutheran Church of Wicacoa, &c.

Philadelphia, February 20, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas to me directed, will be exposed to Sale, by public vendue, at the Coffee-house, in the city of Philadelphia, on Tuesday, the 4th day of March next, at six o'clock in the evening, a certain three story brick messuage or tenement, a brick kitchen and lot of ground, situate on the west side of Fourth-street, in the square between Sassafras (or Race) street, and Mulberry (or Arch) street, in the city of Philadelphia, containing in breadth on said Fourth-street 18 feet, and in length or depth 131 feet; bounded southward by a messuage and lot of Jacob Greiner, westward by ground of Matthias Irwin, northward by ground now or late of Thomas Stretch, and eastward by Fourth-street aforesaid; subject to a ground-rent of £10 16 per annum; taken in execution as the property of John Earle, and to be sold, by

JOSEPH COWPERTHWAIT, Sheriff.

Philadelphia, February 20, 1788.

BY virtue of writs of Venditioni Exponas and Levari Facias to me directed, will be exposed to Sale, by public vendue, at the Coffee-house, in the city of Philadelphia, on Tuesday, the 4th day of March next, at six o'clock in the evening, all those two Messuages and the lot or piece of ground thereunto belonging, situate on the south side of Chestnut-street, in the square between Third and Fourth-streets from Delaware river, in the said city of Philadelphia, and nearly opposite to the Bank; the lot containing in breadth on Chestnut-street (including an alley 12 feet wide, commonly called Hudson's, or Whalebone alley, to be for ever kept open on the west side thereof) 57 feet, and in length or depth 183 feet; bounded eastward and southward by a messuage and ground of Samuel Pleasants, westward by Hudson's alley aforesaid, and northward by Chestnut-street aforesaid. On the southwardmost part of this lot is erected a very large, commodious, brick stable, two stories high, suitable for a livery-stable, or for a coach-house and stables for a private gentleman. There is also a large stable on the lot belonging to the late tenants thereof, which they have a right to move from off the premises, therefore it is not to be comprehended in the sale, but a reasonable time is to be allowed them to remove it, unless the purchaser of the lot can agree with them for it; late the estate of William Pusey, deceased, and Mary his widow, and to be sold, by

JOSEPH COWPERTHWAIT, Sheriff.

Christiana Bridge, February 13. 1788.

TEN DOLLARS Reward.

WAS stolen out of the stable of the subscriber, on the night of the 12th instant, a grey HORSE, about 16 years old, about 15 hands high, a natural trotter, has lately been trimmed, branded with O. on one of his buttocks, supposed the near one, shod all round. Any person securing said horse, so that the owner gets him again, shall receive SIX DOLLARS for the horse, and FOUR DOLLARS for the thief, with reasonable charges, if brought home. § JAMES CALDWELL.

CAME to the Plantation of Mr. CLYMER, near Province-Island, on the Lower Ferry road, on the second of February, a black HORSE, has no particular marks, a natural trotter, about 14 hands high. The owner is desired to come, prove property, pay charges, and take him away. ¶ GEORGE BRUNNELL.

The Honorable the Supreme Executive Council having been pleased to appoint the subscriber

Auctioneer for the city of *Philadelphia,*

HE begs leave to inform the Public, that he intends to carry on the business of Auctioneer, at the Store in Front street lately occupied by *Arthur St. Clair & Co.* where he is now ready to receive GOODS for PUBLIC SALE; and assures those who may be pleased to employ him, of his utmost attention to their interest, and punctuality of payment.

The stated days of sale for Dry Goods at said store are *Tuesdays* and *Thursdays*, and for Furniture on *Saturdays* only.

John Patton, Auctioneer.

Just Published, on an entire new American type and good paper,
(PRICE 5s3 in boards)
The FIRST VOLUME *of the*

Debates *of the* Convention

Of the STATE *of* PENNSYLVANIA,
On the CONSTITUTION proposed for the GOVERNMENT of the UNITED STATES.

Taken accurately in Short Hand by THOMAS LLOYD.

Containing----The Speeches of Thomas M'Kean and James Wilson, Esquires. In which they have *unfolded* the principles of *Free Governments*; *demonstrated* the superior advantages *of this Constitution*; and *answered every Objection* hitherto suggested.

Philadelphia, SOLD by *T. Seddon*, in Market-street, and the principal Booksellers in Pennsylvania---At *New-York*, by Messrs. *Berry & Rogers*, Messrs. *S. & J. Louden*, Mr. *Hodge*---At *Baltimore*, by Mr. *Clarke*---At *Richmond*, by Mr. *A. Davis*, and by the principal Booksellers in the United States.

*** Subscribers to the Debates of the General Assembly will be furnished with one copy each, on application to the Editor, for 3s9. He is happy to embrace this opportunity of returning the patrons of that undertaking his most grateful acknowledgments. February 16, 1788.

To be SOLD by public Vendue,

On the premises, on Saturday, the 22d day of March next,

THE Plantation whereon the subscriber lives, situate in Providence township, Montgomery county, about 24 miles from Philadelphia, and 7 from Norristown, containing about 150 acres, 10 or 11 whereof are good meadow, the remainder chiefly good wheat land; there is on said tract a good bearing orchard of grafted fruit, a good stone dwelling-house, with a pump of never failing water at the door, good stone spring-house, and a large stone-barn, with convenient stabling for horses and cattle. Also a grist-mill with two pair of stones, capable of a great deal of business, as Perkioming creek (the stream by which it is turned) is sufficient to grind in the driest seasons; is well situated for country grist, and not more than two miles from the Reading-road, from whence wheat may, at most times, be readily commanded. If not then sold, it will be to let. The title and terms of sale will be made known at the time and place aforesaid.

February 15, 1788. ¶ THOMAS REES.

ALL persons indebted to the estate of George Young, deceased, late of Moyamensing township, Philadelphia county, are desired to make speedy payment. And all those who have any demands against said estate, are requested to bring them in, properly attested, to JACOB YOUNG, living in Moyamensing, for payment. § February 14, 1788.

JACOB YOUNG, } Administrators.
PETER YOUNG, }

To be SOLD by public Vendue,

On the 11th day of March next, at two o'clock in the afternoon,

A VALUABLE Plantation, in the township of North-Wales, and county of Montgomery, whereon Conrad Sayple now lives, about four miles above the Friends Meeting-house, and two miles from Jacob Hayseler's tavern, on the Swamp road, the direct road to Allen-town; bounded northward by the line that separates Towamensing from North-Wales, eastward by land formerly of Robert Ellis, but now the Heirs of Amos Strettle, southward by the estate of Humphry Jones, deceased, and westward with lands of Amos Griffiths, containing 123 acres, of which about 10 acres are good meadow, watered partly by a plentiful spring, and partly by a rivulet which runs through the tract, sufficient for a grist or saw-mill great part of the year; there is woodland enough for the use of the farm for many years, and the remainder good arable land, as productive as any in the neighbourhood. On the plantation are a tenantable log house, barracks and stables adequate to protect the grain, hay and cattle from the weather. Persons inclined to purchase may view the premises on or before the day of sale. One third of the purchase money to be paid on the delivery of a good deed, and a mortgage, &c. to be given for the remaining part (one half thereof payable with interest one year after the sale, and the other half with interest twelve months afterwards) when possession will be given. The sale will be held on the premises, or at Jacob Hayseler's tavern, as may be judged best on the day of sale, when attendance will be given, by † PHILIP & THOMAS KINSEY.

Philadelphia, February 11, 1788.

To be SOLD by public Vendue,

On the premises, on THURSDAY, the 13th of March next,
(If not Sold before by private Sale)

THAT valuable Farm, whereon Samuel M'Ninch now lives, in Northampton county, Mountbethel township, near James Richard's tavern, containing about 250 acres, for which there will be a good title given. This plantation is pleasantly situated, in a very healthy part of the country, and near the river Delaware; upwards of 100 acres is cleared, about 20 of which is excellent meadow, and nearly the same quantity more may be made. There are on the premises a square log house, frame barn, milk, and other out houses, a good bearing orchard, a valuable spring near the door, also an excellent mill seat, on a constant stream of water, which passes through the center of the meadow land. Any person inclining to purchase, may know the terms, by applying to JOSEPH MARTIN, or SAMUEL MILLER, near the premises, or THOMAS MILLER, at Mahlon Hutchiuson's in Second near Arch-street, Philadelphia. *

February 19, 1788.

To be SOLD or LET,

And possession given the middle of March next,

THAT commodious TAVERN in Frankford, formerly kept by Col. Benjamin M'Veagh. For terms, enquire of THOMAS TILLYER, in Philadelphia, ISAIAH WORRALL, in Frankford, or PERNAL M'VEAGH, in Burlington.

Salem, New-Jersey, February 11, 1788.

WAS committed to my custody on Wednesday, the sixth instant, a NEGROE MAN, about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, and says he belongs to CATESBY JONES, in Virginia. The owner is desired to come and pay charges, and take him away, or he will be sold out for the same in five weeks from the date hereof, by § JOHN COPE, Goaler.

Philadelphia, February 15, 1788.

THE creditors of *Joseph Mather*, are requested to send in their accounts, properly authenticated, to MIERS FISHER, as the assignees are now possessed of a sum of money that will bear a dividend, which they propose to make within three weeks from this date, if the creditors shall generally furnish their demands.

MIERS FISHER,
J. M. NESBITT,
LEVY HOLLINGSWORTH,
EDWARD GEORGE, } Assignees.

MONTMORIN.

THIS TOWN, laid out at the solicitation of several Gentlemen, is delightfully situated on the north bank of the Ohio river, on a beautiful plain that is not liable to be overflown, in a healthy and fertile country, about 18 miles below Fort Pitt, on the road to Fort M'Intosh, in Westmoreland county, in the state of Pennsylvania, and at the ancient settlement formerly called Logstown, which was abandoned previous to the peace of 1763, where an extensive trade was carried on many years.

MONTMORIN commands an extensive view of the river; the soil is equal to any on the Ohio, and abounds in coal; the navigation from thence down the river is superior to that from Fort Pitt, as the water is at all seasons much deeper at this place, and where provisions, boats, &c. may in a little time be as well furnished. It is on the great communication or route from the eastern and middle states to the Muskingum, Miami and Kentucky settlements; as well as the Ilinois, Mississippi, &c. and will probably become the new county seat: The great emigrations to the western country render it a very desirable spot, and afford a flattering prospect of its speedy establishment. The streets are spacious, being all 66 feet wide; except Great George, Washington, Hancock and Clinton-streets, which are 99 feet; the squares are divided into 20 lots, from 44 to 47 feet front, and 220 feet in depth, and all the lots are accommodated with lanes-- five squares, or 100 lots, as distinguished in the plan, will be vested in trustees for public use, and to accommodate schools and religious societies of every denomination. The town contains 740 lots, which will be numbered and arranged by draught, to prevent any kind of preference; and to facilitate the settlement, they will be sold at the moderate price of TEN DOLLARS each, to be paid on the delivery of certificates of purchase----Those who buy ten town lots, will be entitled to a five acre out lot, GRATIS.

The appropriation of the lots will be made under the superintendance or direction of the honorable Thomas M'Kean, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, Gen. Muhlenbergh and Hiester, Matthew Clarkson and Richard Bache, Esquires, on or before the first of May next; after which, on application, indisputable titles in fee simple, agreeably to the said appropriation, will be delivered gratis to the purchasers, their agents, or attorneys.----Certificates for lots sold, and the plan of the town to be seen at the house of Mr. Levy Hollingsworth, Mr. Mark Wilcox, Mr. Thomas Bradford, and at the Coffee-House, Philadelphia; Mr. John Delafield, New-York; General Heister, Reading; John Hubley, Esq; Lancaster; Mr. Heckenvelder, Bethlehem; Major Isaac Craig, Fort Pitt; and Colonel Stephen Bayard, Elizabeth-town. ISAAC MELCHER.

Philadelphia, September 1, 1787.

EXTRACT. *Page* 10, *Colonel Bouquet's Expedition* 1764, *Friday, October* 5. "In this day's march the army passed though Logstown, situated seventeen and a half miles fifty seven perches, by the path, from Fort Pitt. This place was noted before the last war, for the great trade carried on there by the English and French; but its inhabitants, Shawanese and Delawares, abandoned it in the year 1750. The lower town extended about 60 perches over a rich bottom to the foot of a low steep ridge; on the summit of which, near the declivity, stood the upper town, commanding a most agreeable prospect over the lower, and quite across the Ohio, which is about 500 yards wide here, and by its majestic easy current adds much to the beauty of the place. Proceeding beyond Logstown we passed through a fine country, &c."

*** Those who are desirous of further information respecting the soil and situation of Montmorin, are referred to Governor St. Clair, General Irwine, George Morgan and Matthew Clarkson, Esquires, or any other gentleman acquainted in the Western country.

Bucks county, February 14, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, on Saturday, the 1st of March next, at the house of John Rodrock, inn-keeper, in Plumstead township, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Messuage, Plantation and Tract of Land, situate in Plumstead aforesaid, bounded by lands of John Rodrock, Israel Doan, and others; containing 100 acres, be the same more or less; Taken in execution as the property of Benjamin Vastine, and to be sold, by WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, February 14, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, on Saturday, the 1st of March next, at the house of John Rodrock, inn-keeper, in Plumstead township, at three o'clock in the afternoon, two Lots of Land, situate in Plumstead, one containing about 14 acres, bounded by land of Thomas Wright, Joseph Rich, and others; the other containing about four acres, bounded by land of John Furness, Jonathan Brown, and others; taken in execution as the property of William Dayle, senr. and to be sold, by WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, February 14, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, on Monday, the 3d of March next, on the premises, at one o'clock in the afternoon; a certain Tract or parcel of land, situate in the township of Bristol, bounded by Neshaminy creek, and by lands late of Samuel Allen, Thomas Clifford, and others; containing 220 acres, be the same more or less, with the appurtenances; taken in execution as late the estate of Walter William Harris, and Mary his wife, and to be sold, by WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, February 14, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be exposed to public sale, on Monday, the third of March next, at the house of Charles Bessonet, in Bristol, at four o'clock in the afternoon, one equal undivided fifth part of a House, and two Lots of Land, in and near the borough of Bristol, containing about 12 acres; bounded by lands of William M'Ilvaine, Esquire, Samuel Kinsy, and others; taken in execution as the property of Henry Shellingsberg, and to be sold, by WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

WANTS EMPLOYMENT,

Either in a COUNTING HOUSE or STORE,

A MIDDLE aged person, who can be well recommended, and capable of undertaking the above employment, having served near 10 years in one of the first wholesale houses in London. A line left at the printers, directed for I. R. will be duly attended to.

Evesham township, Burlington county, Jan. 28, 1788.

THREE POUNDS Reward.

RAN away, this morning, from the subscriber, an apprentice lad, named JOHN WHITECRAFT, about 19 years of age, of a sandy complexion, freckled in the face; had on and took with him, a fustian coatee, jacket and overalls, a new round hat, a pair of woollen trowsers, two jackets, one nap, the other coarse cloth of a light colour, two pair of stockings, one white, the other blue. Whoever takes up and secures said apprentice, so that his master may get him again, shall have the above reward, paid by ‡ WILLIAM SHARP.

THE subscriber, living in Path Valley, Franklin county, state of Pennsylvania, has for sale the following Tracts of Land, viz.

Three hundred and seventy-eight acres in the valley aforesaid, being the place at present occupied by him; situate upon the west branch of Conegocheague creek, 3 miles from the state road, 100 miles from Baltimore, 160 from Philadelphia; has the following improvements and advantages, viz. a convenient dwelling house, large barn, a merchant mill, with two pair of stones, one pair of which are French burrs, proven good; bolting works compleat, in a good neighbourhood for wheat, has a good run of country custom and of merchant work, a saw mill in good repair, 150 acres cleared and under good fence, about 30 of which is meadow, 50 more of meadow may be made and watered by never failing streams; and an orchard, consisting of 180 bearing fruit trees.

Two hundred and seventy acres joining the aforesaid tract, one third whereof may be converted into meadow and watered, has the advantage of a good seat upon the creek aforesaid, for any kind of heavy water works, and a good seat for a furnace, upon a constant lime-stone spring.

One hundred and fifty acres, situate 5 miles good road from the last described tract, contains a large quantity of iron ore, proved to be of superior quality; the two last described tracts contain every natural conveniency for carrying on the iron business to advantage.

Five hundred acres in Bedford county, on both sides of the state road, at the east side of Laurel hill, about 8 miles from the Glade settlement, known by the name of Jolly Place, 40 acres whereof are cleared, and only wants fencing to be in a state for cultivation, has a good mill seat, and a mill is much wanted in the neighbourhood, about one third of this tract is meadow lands of the first quality, and is a good stand for a house of public entertainment. Clear patents and indisputable titles will be given to the purchasers, and time given for part of the purchase money, by † WILLIAM ELLIOT.

N. B. Mr. John Musser, of Lancaster, can give a particular description of the quality and value of the last described tract.

TO BE SOLD,

A VALUABLE PLANTATION of 150 acres of good land, with large improvements, an old over shot grist mill and oyl mill, 20 acres of watered meadow made, and 20 more may be made, situate in Bethel township, Tulpehocken rich settlement, in Berks county, about 24 miles west from Reading town.

Also a new grist mill and saw mill, in Liken's valley, on Wiconesky creek, with the other improvements. The purchaser may have 300, 600, or 1000 acres therewith of good land, situate in Berks county, about 40 miles from Reading.

Also 1200 acres of extraordinary land on Middle creek, a few miles below Sunbury, and near Susquehanna, where 100 acres of watered meadow may be made, and a grist mill and saw mills may be erected at a small expence.

And 1800 acres on Lycoming creek, of rich good land, where large quantities of watered meadow may be made, and mills erected, a few miles above Samuel Wallis, Esquire, and a number of smaller tracts of good land.

Also a valuable plantation of 250 acres, with large improvements, near Muspillion landing, in Kent county, Delaware state. For terms, enquire of the subscriber, in Vine-street, Philadelphia. DANIEL WILLIAMS.

Also the best kind of BOULTING CLOTHS, CHEAP.

CAME to the Plantation of William Ingram, in West-Whiteland townshiip, Chester County, seven or eight white Sheep; they were taken up on the 27th of December last, having been in the neighbourhood most part of last summer. The owner is desired to come, prove property, pay charges, and take them away. WILLIAM INGRAM.

February 14, 1788. †

Whereas the PARTNERSHIP of

David and Matthew Duncan

Was DISSOLVED on the 1st day of October last,

ALL Persons INDEBTED to, or who have DEMANDS on the SAME, are requested to settle with DAVID DUNCAN.

Philadelphia, Feb. 2, 1788. ct3m.

Pennsylvania Hospital Medical Library.

THE following BOOKS are missing. The Gentlemen who have them in possession will oblige the Contributors, by returning them to WILLIAM GARDNER, Apothecary, at the Hospital.

Van Swieten's Commentaries, Vol. 7th.
Astruc on the Venereal Disease, Vol. 2d.
M'Quere's Elements of Chemistry, Vol. 1st.
Hoffman's Works, Vol. 5th.

By order of a Board of Managers,
1st Mo. 28, 1788. SAMUEL COATES, Clerk.

*** The *Committee* for conducting the Business of AMERICAN MANUFACTURES desire, that the SUBSCRIBERS to the Manufacturing Fund will be pleased to pay in their *SUBSCRIPTIONS* to Mr. JOSEPH HILBORN, Treasurer to the Society.

By order of the Committee,
THOMAS RUSTON, Chairman.

To be SOLD at private Sale,

A LARGE commodious HOUSE, situate in Darby, next door to the Ship Tavern towards Philadelphia, very convenient for a large family, a good stand for a store, or for a tradesman that works in the house; there are four good rooms on each of the two first floors, and two ditto in the garret, all of them cieled, with a good cellar under it, also a pump at the kitchen door. The lot it stands on is 50 feet wide and about 400 deep, with a barn and a number of fruit trees.

Also to be sold, another adjoining it, with two rooms on a floor, and a good cellar. The lot is 50 feet front and 400 in depth, with a stable on it, and a variety of fruit trees. Any person inclining to purchase, may know the terms by applying to JESSE SHARPLESS, at the corner of Chestnut and Third-streets, Philadelphia. If not sold, it will be to be rented, and may be entered on the 1st day of April next. The terms will be made easy to the purchaser. §

Tobacco, Snuff, Chocolate and Mustard,
Manufactured and Sold by

JOSEPH FEW,

At the Draw-bridge, Philadelphia.

N. B. Thirty-two Shillings per BUSHEL, or One Shilling per QUART, given for

MUSTARD SEED.

PHILADELPHIA: Printed by HALL and SELLERS, at the NEW-PRINTING OFFICE, near the MARKET.